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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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Selections.

SPEECH OF HON. GEO. S. BOUTWELL.

[The following extracts from a speech by Hon George S. Boutwell, of Massachusetts, one of the ablest and best yet made on the subject of Colored Suffrage in the District of Columbia, are copied from the Boston *Commonwealth*:]

MR SPEAKER, is it not seen that, if these propositions be true, the right to vote exists independently of all human agency in the sense of law; and the doctrine that the right of voting is a conventional right, is not sustained by reason or history? History shows only this, that the limitations upon the exercise of the right of voting are the results of conventions. The natural social right is the right of the family to speak in all matters which concern the welfare of the family as one family in the great society and family of man.

This demonstrates, I think, that the negro has everywhere the same right to vote as the white man. And I maintain still further, that when you proceed one step from this line you admit that your Government is a failure. What is the essential quality of monarchical and aristocratic government? Simply that by conventionalities, by arrangements of conventions, some persons have been deprived of the right of voting. We have attempted to set up and maintain a government upon the doctrine of the equality of man, the universal right of all men to participate in the government. In accordance with that theory we must accept the ballot upon the principle of equality. It is enjoyed by the learned and the unlearned, the wise and the ignorant, the virtuous and the vicious.

The great experiment is going on. If, before the war, any man in this country was disposed to undervalue a Government thus conducted, he should have learned by this time the wisdom and the strength of a Government which embraces and embodies the judgment and the will of the whole people. If the negroes of the South, four million strong, had been endowed with the elective franchise, and had united with the white people of that region in the work of rebellion, your armies would have been powerless to subdue that rebellion, and you would to-day have seen your territory limited by the Potomac and the Ohio.

And if, in the North, suffrage had been limited as it is in Great Britain, you could not have commanded two million six hundred thousand volunteers for the defence of the Republic. The unity of sentiment in the loyal States was due to the fact that every man felt that the Government was his own. This only illustrates how strong a government is when it is founded upon the judgment and the will of the whole people, and how weak it is when founded upon the judgment and the will of a part.

I advance still further. I have said that I consider this question as involving other issues than the mere matter of suffrage in the District of Columbia. I do not conceal my opinion from friend or opponent. I am of those who believe that any restoration of either of the eleven States lately engaged in the rebellion to political power in the Government of this country, which is not coupled with or preceded by the condition that the negroes of the South are to vote, opens a way to the destruction of this Government from which there is no escape. I declare, after the gravest deliberation and the calmest reflection, and I say it with sorrow, looking upon the country, rent by opposite opinions on this question, that, without such a measure as I suggest for the Southern States, this Government cannot outlast those who are now in the vigor of manhood. Why and how will it fail?

It will fail and fall from the fact that by restoration without this all-essential guarantee we put into the hands of our enemies in the South two weapons, the blows of which we shall be powerless to parry. One is the assumption by the Government of a vast and overwhelming weight of indebtedness, to be followed by a foreign war. We see to-day how difficult it is to restrain and control the people of this country in their desire to take just vengeance for the wrongs inflicted upon them by England and France. Suppose the power of this Government was intrusted to the hands of the late slaveholders, the men recently engaged in rebellion. Does any man believe that they are restored to their right mind, that they will give an ardent support to the Government? All the testimony is that they are as alien and hostile to this Government as ever, and that they only seek an opportunity to strike a deadly blow.

What opportunity do you give them? They are marshalling to-day in Virginia, in South Carolina, in Louisiana, their claims upon this Government. They will demand $2,000,000,000 for slaves, untold hundreds of millions of dollars for depredations committed by our armies. An aggregate of thousands of millions of claims, or demands having the color of claims, will be marshalled against the Government; and you invite sixty representatives, united, bound together by the ties of interest and of ancient and unrelenting hostility, to enforce these claims. This Congress, no doubt, is incorruptible; but when there are claims against the Government to the amount of $3,000,000,000, with the support that such representatives may afford, twenty-two in the Senate and sixty in this House, with all the influence of this immense demand against the Government, do you expect to resist them? Do you expect to meet them with a paper-blockade, Constitutional amendments? If that is your expectation, your expectation will not be realized; and when they have involved the country in an indebtedness of four, five or six thousand million dollars, when they have broken your credit so that in the markets of the world your paper will sell for fifty cents on the dollar, and, taking advantage of the just and natural hostility of the people against European aggression, they involve you in a foreign war, what have they to do but to march out of the Union and bid you defiance?

Secondly, you leave the rebels in possession of a power which they will surely avail themselves of when they again undertake the destruction of the Government—the opportunity to bestow the elective franchise upon the negroes. If you fail to secure the black man in his rights, he will become in a degree alien and hostile to the National Government. In this condition he will be ready to accept the right of suffrage from the Southern leaders, and transfer his allegiance, sympathy, and support from you to them. Will you leave such a weapon in the power of your enemies, when, by a timely act of justice, you can secure the zealous and unwavering support of the black race in every generation? Throughout this contest the blacks have exhibited the purest patriotism and the highest wisdom. Can any man name an act done by them that has been injurious to them as a race or prejudicial to the country? Or can any one suggest an omission that has been prejudicial to them or to the country? So will they exhibit wisdom hereafter. If we fail in our duty, we have no right to expect their support in the future.

It is not unreasonable to expect that in twelve or twenty-four months several of the States recently in rebellion will confer the elective franchise upon their negroes. In Louisiana one eighth of the voting white population, I understand, are in favor of that measure. We know that this force must be augmented by accessions of loyal men, and for this reason: every Union man in the South who wants protection for life, for property, and for his own political rights is compelled by necessity to ally himself with the negroes. They are his friends, and he must make common cause with his friends, whether they be white or black.

My chief objection to this proposed restriction is, that the rebel States are not likely to do anything more for themselves than you do for the country when you pass judgment and establish your policy here. If you put a limitation or qualification upon the exercise of the elective franchise, who does not see that its enforcement is a question of administration? And herein there is a difference between Massachusetts and this District; there is a difference between Massachusetts and Louisiana. Our inspectors and examiners are in favor of suffrage, and they desire to give every man the elective franchise. Every doubt is given to the applicant. In South Carolina and Alabama it is a question of administration; and do you suppose the men who will preside and decide this question will come to the conclusion that a negro can read when the result is that he must also vote? Will they accept testimony that he has been in the army when they do not want his ballot brought to bear against them, as his bayonet frequently was during the war? Do you suppose they will tax him when they know that taxation gives him the power to interfere in the Government. More than that, I do not suppose that the colored men in this District would be safe in coming to the polls. I am pretty sure that in the old slave States you would have to muster the entire black male population, so that they might go to the polls in safety.

I have thus given, with less preparation than I ought to have made for the discussion of a question like this, the views I entertain upon this subject. But beyond this, when we proclaimed the emancipation of the slaves, and put their lives in peril for the defense of this country, we did in effect guarantee to them substantially the rights of American citizens and a Christian posterity, and heathen countries will demand how we have kept that faith.

Mr. Speaker, we are to answer for our treatment of the colored people of this country, and it will prove in the end impracticable to secure to men of color civil rights unless the persons who claim those rights are fortified by the political right of voting. With the right of voting everything that a man ought to have or enjoy of civil rights comes to him. Without the right of voting he is secure in nothing. I cannot consent, after all the guards and safeguards which may be prepared for the defense of the colored men in the enjoyment of their rights—I cannot consent that they shall be deprived of the right to protect themselves. One hundred and eighty-six thousand of them have been in the army of the United States. They have stood in the place of our sons and brothers and friends. They have fallen in defense of the country. They have earned the right to share in the Government; and if you deny them the elective franchise I know not how they are to be protected. Otherwise you furnish the protection which is given to the lamb when he is commended to the wolf.

There is an ancient history that a sparrow pursued by a hawk took refuge in the chief assembly of Athens in the bosom of a member of that illustrious body, and that the senator in anger hurled it violently from him. It fell to the ground dead, and such was the horror and indignation of that ancient, but not Christianized body—men living in the light of nature, of reason—that they immediately expelled the brutal Areopagite from his seat, and from the association of humane legislators.

What will be said of us, not by Christian, but by heathen nations even, if, after accepting the blood and sacrifices of these men, we hurl them from us and allow them to be the victims of those who have tyrannized over them for centuries? I know of no crime that exceeds this; I know of none that is its parallel, and if this country is true to itself it will rise in the majesty of its strength and maintain a policy, here and everywhere, by which the rights of colored people shall be secured through their own power—in peace the ballot, in war the bayonet.

It is a maxim of another language, which we may well apply to ourselves, that where the voting register ends the military roster of rebellion begins; and if you leave these four million people to the care and custody of the men who have inaugurated and carried on this rebellion, then you treasure up for untold years the elements of social and civil war which must not only desolate and paralyze the South, but shake this Government to its very foundation.

TRIAL OF GEORGE WILLIAM GORDON OF JAMAICA.

WE publish to-day, says the New York *Tribune*, a report of the trial, by court-martial, of the late George William Gordon, a colored member of the Assembly of the Island of Jamaica, who, it will be remembered, was hanged shortly after the riot at Morant Bay, for alleged complicity in a rebellious plot. The circumstances attending Mr. Gordon's execution were altogether of so extraordinary a character, that the evidence upon which he was convicted and sentenced to death cannot fail to be read with deep interest. He was a man of reputable character. He had always been known as a loyal subject, and a peaceable, exemplary citizen. He had been for some years a member of the House of Assembly, and one of its most distinguished ornaments; and he was connected by ties of marriage and friendship with a large circle of Europeans and creole whites. When the riot at St. Thomas-in-the-East occurred, he was in the city of Kingston, distant over thirty miles from the scene of the disturbances; but, hearing that his name had been mentioned in connection with the affair, he voluntarily surrendered himself to the authorities, in the full consciousness of innocence, and never dreaming, it seems, that he would be tried by court-martial. He was immediately hurried on board a gunboat, and taken by Gov. Eyre himself to Morant Bay; where, after a brief trial, he was convicted and sentenced to be hanged. The rest, our readers already know. And what, after all, does the evidence upon which this unfortunate gentleman was sent to the gallows amount to? Why, that Mr. Gordon had been seen on a Sunday at a certain chapel at which Paul Bogle, the so-called rebel leader, worshipped; that somebody had said that Mr. Gordon had sent word for the people of a certain district in the parish to hold a meeting; that certain placards in blank had been found in Mr. Gordon's portmanteau; that a placard headed "The State of the Island," in which there is not a single word of disloyalty or sedition, had been penned by Mr. Gordon; that he had used some strong language in a meeting of the people he had some weeks before addressed in the parish of Vere; and that he had written a letter to one Chisholm, advising him, with reference to the sufferings of the people, to "pray to God for help and deliverance." This is all, absolutely all; and upon these slender grounds the life of a good man was sacrificed.

It requires no legal lore, no extraordinary acumen, to see that the evidence is positively worthless. The first charge against Mr. Gordon was "high treason and sedition." But where is the proof to support this? Is it found in the address to the people, where they are reminded that their "*beloved* Queen is too noble-hearted to say anything unkind even to her most humble subjects;" and that "Mr. Cardwell and Her Majesty's other Ministers are gentlemen too honorable and honest in their intentions willfully to wound the feelings of Her Majesty's Colonial subjects?" We fail to discover a single seditious expression in that address; nor do we find in any other portion of the evidence the slightest indication of anything treasonable. As to the second charge, of having "conspired with certain parties in an insurrectionary outbreak," even granting that the outbreak was of an insurrectionary character—which is yet to be shown—there was not the slightest evidence to connect Mr. Gordon with it. The entire evidence, in fact, has not a single strong point about it. In no court of justice, regulated by the smallest modicum of intelligence, would such evidence insure a conviction. With that evidence before him, Gov. Eyre assumed a fearful responsibility when he sanctioned Gordon's execution. It is plain that somebody will have to answer for what—now that the trial is given to the world—will be pronounced by all impartial men a case of downright murder. This is what John Bright, in his late Great Reform Speech at Rochdale, says of that execution: "I believe there is not a judge in this kingdom at this hour, there is not a law-officer of the Crown in the three kingdoms, there is not a lawyer in practice in the three kingdoms, who will differ from the opinion I now express, that the execution of that unfortunate man Gordon was, in all its parts—in his transference from the place where he was arrested—in his being handed over to a Court formed, it is said, of two lieutenants and ensign, or some such inferior officers—in the manner in which he was treated before that tribunal—in the manner in which he was treated after his mock trial—I say from the beginning to the end, it is a mass of illegality. And I believe there is not a judge who sits upon the Bench in this United Kingdom, who, speaking in his private capacity, would doubt for one single moment that Gordon was murdered." No report of the trial has ever been published in Jamaica; why, may be easily conjectured.

THE STANDARD.

SPECIAL MEETING

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

ON Wednesday, January 24th, in accordance with a call issued some weeks since, the American Anti-Slavery Society held a special meeting at the Melodeon, in Boston; WENDELL PHILLIPS, the President, occupied the chair.

The first business of the morning was the appointment of Committees. Stephen S. Foster. Aaron M. Powell, Rev. John T. Sargent, Mrs. Caroline R. Putnam and Susan B. Anthony were appointed a Business Committee, and Elbridge Sprague, Abby K. Foster and Susan B. Anthony a Finance Committee, both being authorized to make additions to their number if necessary.

Mr. PHILLIPS, during the absence of the Committee, read some approving comments from the *Journal* of that morning upon a recent speech of Senator Fessenden, of Maine, announcing to the country that the opinions of the Republican party coincide with those of the President. This, Mr. Phillips thought, was the most threatening aspect of the country's affairs at present. If public opinion can be brought to bear upon Congress sufficiently to strengthen it to risk a breach with the President, the nation may yet be saved.

The question now before us is not, shall the negro have the ballot, but, is the President the friend or the enemy of freedom? Those who bestow general approval on the President take off the edge of public vigilance. Mr. Johnson has betrayed the nation, but he has not deceived it. He has freely and openly declared his purpose to get the Southern States as speedily as possible into Congress. What we want is a frankness of expression in the Republican party corresponding to that of the President. Mr. Sumner's epithet of "whitewashing" is worth all the rest that has been said in Congress. But, instead of such frank opposition, the Members of Congress (except half-a-dozen Senators), the press and the people flatter the President and avoid a breach with him. Not a single newspaper in the country took thorough ground on this subject except the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

Mr. EARLE (formerly of Worcester) hoped that Anti-Slavery men were now prepared to *attack* the reconstruction policy of the President.

Mr. PRINCE, of ——, thought that the *Independent* might be classed with the STANDARD as a thorough Anti-Slavery paper.

The Business Committee then offered for the consideration of the Society the following resolutions:

Resolved, That we hail with unfeigned delight and profound gratitude, the recent act of the Nation in taking the first step by formal Amendment of its Constitution toward abolishing the system of slavery wherever the flag floats, and we consider the marvellous result of the Anti-Slavery labors of thirty years as far more than History shows us to have been vouchsafed to any reform agitation in any land or at any time.

Whereas the Southern States rebelled to preserve the Slave Power and thereby continue their system of slavery, and

Whereas, the plan of Reconstruction insisted on by the President welcomes back into the Union the very men who loved and wielded that power, and leaves in their hands the elements out of which to reconstruct it as of old—

Therefore, we protest, in the name of millions still in bondage, against that plan of Reconstruction as the practical establishment of Slavery—as surrendering the Negro and the Nation back into the hands of the Southern white race unchanged in purpose, embittered by defeat, and inspired by hotter hatred than ever against the negro race and free institutions.

Resolved, That we protest against the Amendment of the United States Constitution at present discussed in Congress, excluding from the basis of State representation all persons debarred from the ballot-box on account of color:—considering it only fitted to protect the North and the white race, while it leaves the Negro to his fate; seeing in it only the old and futile effort made in 1789 to protect the Negro by appealing to the political selfishness of the master, and remembering that for fifty years the intelligent Southerner has known that to abolish slavery would double his wealth, secure the sympathy of the world, and add two-fifths to his political weight in the Union, but that ill temper, pride of race, and love of tyranny have overborne all these motives, and that, in view of such an experience, it would be worse than foolish to repeat the experiment: and we proclaim our conviction that the Nation has earned the right to insist on Suffrage for the Negro—that our war policy has imposed this duty on us, and we will be satisfied with no Amendment and no policy which does not include it.

Whereas, in times of revolution the decisions, the mistakes, of a single hour may settle the opinions of a nation and its forms of civil life for centuries, and whereas our fathers' example of compromise in hours just like these, when the Constitution was settled in 1789—*on the policy of half a loaf being better than no bread*—shows how disastrous and almost fatal that policy is:

Therefore, we protest against the acceptance of any measure or of any Amendment of the Constitution on that *policy*; deliberately affirming our conviction that in times like these, and on questions like these which now engage public attention, "*no bread is better than half a loaf*"—the total seeming defeat of the friends of liberty better for her cause than their acceptance of any half-way and compromising settlement; and we renew our demand of land and suffrage for the negro throughout the rebel States, guaranteed by the United States Constitution, before any rebel State be allowed to enter Congress.

Resolved, That the recent decisive vote in the House of Representatives, giving to the black men of the District of Columbia the ballot, is most encouraging, highly honorable to the courage and statesmanship of the House, and a noble inauguration of all that is needed on the part of Congress to save the nation and base it on justice.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER announced that the Business Committee had added to their number Mr. Theodore Tilton and Mrs. Lucy Stone. He then proceeded with some remarks upon the present situation, desiring the freest expression of all varieties of opinion in regard to the duties of the hour. He thought those duties were, first, to utter a strong protest, including an expression of moral condemnation, against the position of the Executive. It was the disgrace of the nation as well as of the President that the negro, after saving the nation from the rebels, had been left unprotected to feel their revenge. He thought the spirit of the President was even worse than his policy. He has shown no disposition to do a single thing for the negroes of the South.

The second duty, Mr. Foster thought, was to insist upon the black man's right of suffrage. In a Republic, there is no liberty without the ballot. We must demand that the national right of suffrage shall be conceded to the black man, and therefore to the black woman, and therefore, since we abjure distinctions on ground of color, to the white woman. We want universal suffrage.

We are to teach the American people the true character of government, and the right of *self*-government as a means of self-defence.

JAMES N. BUFFUM, of Lynn, expressed his disagreement with Mr. Foster. He thought the right policy was expressed in the late speech of Mr. Boutwell.

WENDELL PHILLIPS said he perfectly agreed that we should rejoice in all that has thus far been accomplished. But our purpose and our work have been to make the negro practically free. We want opinion, law and capital on his side. At present he has neither. Since, by the decision of the President, the rebel leaders are to be voters and office-holders, we must counterbalance them by making the negroes voters and landholders.

What shall the Abolitionists do? The lobbies of Congress are full of intriguers, bringing every motive to bear upon Congress in favor of the return of the rebels to power; and the Republican party are giving their endorsement to the President, who favors that plan. The negro's liberty is a sham while the weight of government is against him.

The leaders of the Republican party are to be watched, not trusted.

Nine hundred of the thousand men who made the rebellion are still here, and allowed political action, with unchanged hearts and opinions. They go for a white man's government and a disfranchised class. All that they promise for the negro is to maintain his rights *as a laborer*, giving him, even then, no right of contract. In the single State of Virginia confiscated land enough has been restored to the rebels to dispossess 70,000 freedmen. And, in view of this fact, the Boston Board of Trade recommends *compulsory* labor for the South.

The remedy for the corruption of Congress is public opinion. We must make it. We cannot trust the Freedmen's Bureau, nor any political party, to oppose the President; but that is the thing now needed. The President is frankly and openly a disbeliever in the rights of the negro. His speech to the colored soldiers shows this. He calls it an experiment whether they are to be allowed to stay in this country. He speaks of their liberty as only the right to labor; and he told Congress that he had demanded of the Southern States that the blacks should be protected in their rights *as laborers*.

We should have but one purpose, to snatch out of this confusion of civil war, absolute safety for the negro race. We need outside pressure and remorseless criticism upon Congress and the President.

As Bull Run was better for the North than the drawn battles of the Peninsula, so the defeat of the moderate half-measures of Congress would arouse a spirit in the people that would give the victory to Sumner and Wade. Justice and only justice is what we should insist upon as indispensable. If the President's policy should now be endorsed by Congress, it would not be strange if, in 1867, Grant or Sherman should be proposed for President, and Robert E. Lee for Vice-President.

Mr. LORING MOODY then read a resolution, which he desired to leave in the hands of the Business Committee, stating that the work of the American Anti-Slavery Society is not finished, and that it should proceed forthwith to send out agents and hold conventions to arouse the people to some expression of a demand for impartial suffrage.

The meeting then adjourned to three o'clock.

Afternoon Session.

Mr. PHILLIPS in the chair.

The resolutions were again read.

AARON M. POWELL, of Rochester, N. Y., thought this occasion one of unusual interest and importance. Now, for the first time, we meet in a country where there is no slave; so that, though the spirit of slavery is still living and active, we have new opportunities and facilities for successful opposition to it. We are now to demand that the democratic security of human rights—the ballot—shall be placed in the hands of the black man, and in the hands of *man*, in the largest sense.

Mr. Powell congratulated the Society on the recent vote in regard to suffrage in the District of Columbia. We are re-laying the foundations, and commencing to build anew, and should take heed that all our action is founded on justice. Thus doing, we shall be, as we have been, a moral power to lift this people to the level of true Democracy,

THEODORE TILTON, of New York, editor of the *Independent*, was the next speaker. He severely criticized the Fremont movement to which Mr. Phillips had referred. He totally disagreed with Mr. Johnson's limitations of the meaning of liberty as applied to the freed people of the South, and he proposed to criticize and impeach that functionary until full justice was done to the colored people. And if Congress shall agree with the President, the people must impeach both.

It is the duty of this people to found its Government, in this formative period, upon a basis of political equality, making distinction neither between black and white, nor between women and men. This, Mr. Tilton thought, is the only true ground to be taken. He was sorry not to find it in the resolutions of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

CHARLES LENOX REMOND thought it was asking too much to ask that the difficulties of the women's rights question be incorporated with those necessarily belonging to the question of negro suffrage. He vindicated the character and the rights of the colored people, and thought their rights should now receive zealous and undivided attention. He desired, therefore, that the American Anti-Slavery Society should apply itself wholly to the work of enlargement and elevation of the colored people.

Mr. MOODY thought that Abolitionists should actively work, and hold a series of spirited Conventions to arouse the nation to the point of demanding that Congress shall do justice to the blacks.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY echoed the claim of the last speaker, for more active work among Abolitionists. They had too much neglected it, she thought, for the last four years.

Miss Anthony spoke of the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD as the only exclusively anti-slavery paper, and urged those present to subscribe for it.

Mrs. FOSTER urged the importance of increasing the finances of the Society, and thought that, whatever claims women's rights might have in another place, the attention of this Society should be concentrated solely upon the claims of the colored race.

Mrs. LUCY STONE thought that, in season and out of season, the claims of woman to political rights should be urged, but she was always glad also to maintain the rights of the negro. At present, neither the rights nor the safety of the Southern blacks were secured.

S. S. FOSTER said of the resolutions offered by Mr. Moody, that they were excellent, but that the Society had no pecuniary means whereby to carry out operations so extensive.

Mr. Foster proceeded to express his belief that it was highly desirable to connect the advocacy of the women's cause with that of the anti-slavery cause. He preferred this course as not only just, but as bringing up a larger force against the common enemy.

Mr. PHILLIPS said that the proposal to engraft female suffrage upon the platform of the Anti-Slavery Society, was, in effect, a proposition to dissolve or to reorganize it. Success was best obtained by doing one thing at a time. The Society was formed for a specific purpose, which should be steadily adhered to.

Mrs. ROCKWOOD, of Illinois, then made an able and impressive speech; and, after brief remarks by several other persons, the resolutions were adopted by a unanimous vote, and the Society adjourned.

C. K. WHIPPLE, for

AARON M. POWELL, Secretary.

The following letter, forwarded from earnest friends of the cause in Philadelphia, is here published with the proceedings of the meeting:

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 19, 1866.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ.—*Dear Friend:* We greatly regret that we cannot be personally present at the meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in Boston, on the 26th inst. Not only because it is always refreshing to our souls to mingle with our coadjutors in anti-slavery assemblies; but also because, in this national crisis, topics of vital interest to our cause, and questions relative to the present duty of Abolitionists will claim discussion and solution.

We would gladly unite with you all in grateful acknowledgment of victories won for Freedom, and blessings conferred upon the millions for whose complete redemption we stood pledged; and would also, with you, renew our vows to stand by the side of the American Freedman until his liberty, now constitutionally declared, shall be practically realized, and so secured that he shall be, in very truth, an AMERICAN FREEMAN.

How these pledges may be best fulfilled, will, undoubtedly, be a question for discussion at your meeting. In our opinion, the watchword of Abolitionists, at this crisis, should be: "No Reconstruction without suffrage for the emancipated slave, on equal terms with the white man, that he may thereby be able to protect his personal liberty." This demand must be the fundamental doctrine of our organizations, by whatever name they may be called; whether we retain the honored old name of Anti-Slavery Societies; or, in view of the fact that American slavery has ceased to have a legal existence, we adopt another name more explicitly defining our present work. On the expediency of such a change, the Executive Committee of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society hold different opinions; some of us preferring to retain the anti-slavery name until freedom is secured to the colored population of the South by the ballot, and others believing that the abolition of legal slavery requires that another should be substituted for it, the old name having lost its peculiar significance in the new circumstances.

For ourselves, we are heartily unanimous, and rejoice to believe that we are of one mind with our fellow-members of the American Society in this, viz.: That the Abolitionists of this nation have an important work to do, before their cause, maintained through evil report and good report for thirty-five years past, shall achieve its full and final triumph in the land; and that this work and this responsibility cannot be safely delegated to any political party, or to any religious or benevolent association, or to all of them. That we cannot trust the cause of the black man's freedom to the "conscience of the South," as we have been advised to do, nor to the better portion of the Republican press, nor to the Northern pulpit. We cannot be released from our pledges until they are performed, nor put off our armor until our victory is complete.

We trust that the Society will adopt such plans of action as will best meet the demands of the hour; and that we shall be able to unite in them heartily, practically and zealously.

Your friends and fellow-laborers,

JAMES MOTT,
LUCRETIA MOTT,
MARY GREW,
MARGARET J. BURLEIGH,
BENJAMIN C. BACON,
WILLIAM STILL,
E. M. DAVIS,
SIMON BERNHARD.

NEW YORK, Jan. 24, 1866.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, ESQ., PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.—*Dear Sir:* There has been but little said of the political rights of women during the war; not because the representative women of the nation have thought less of their claims, but that in the progress of events the black man was thrown into the foreground, and it became inevitable that his case must be tried first. Moreover, as the tendency on all sides was to the discussion of his rights, on the ground of his humanity, we saw that the settlement of his claims logically included those of woman also.

The question of the negro has passed the court of moral discussion, and is settled by all honest minds. The verdict, he is "a man and a citizen," was rendered when he was declared free, and worthy to bear arms in the defence of his country. He is now fairly ushered into the arena of politics, where he must remain a fixed element of agitation until party necessity shall give him a voice in the Government. Therefore, as woman is the only remaining class whose political status is ignored, we claim your attention to a candid review of all the arguments put forth in the past for the education, elevation and citizenship of the women of the nation; and we demand your consideration *now*, for two reasons.

1st. Because we cannot have a Republican Government with one half its tax-paying citizens disfranchised.

2d. Because at this very hour the *liberal* party propose legislation that shall still further degrade our present political status.

We have now arrived at a similar point in our national history to that our fathers held at the close of the first revolution. While announcing to the world a Republican form of government they recognized a privileged order. While with inspired tongues they declared all men equal, they made laws for the protection of white male citizens only, leaving all black men and women in a state of vassalage. The result has been a century of discontent and discord, and another bloody war. Their plea for the wrong they sanctioned was, peace and union. Did they secure either by that costly sacrifice? Is there any peace for a nation, more than an individual, but in allegiance to the principles of justice? In the reconstruction of our National Government, can we with honor and safety see the Republican idea again violated? We do not prevent it by claiming suffrage for black men only—there is class legislation again—but in demanding equal rights for all, we recognize the true idea of a Republic.

But, say you, this is not the time to extend suffrage to woman; it is enough now to secure it for the black man. Take you no thought of the wrong you do him in striking down the civil, political and social rights of every woman of his race? On what ground do you claim suffrage for the negro? Because he is a negro, or because he is a man and a citizen? Because his rights are violated, or because in his wrongs the life of the Republic is imperiled? At the breaking out of the war, sir, you announced that you ceased to speak as an Abolitionist. Then, as a citizen of a Republic, and the leading statesman at this hour, in behalf of the women of the nation I ask you if it is not your duty to see that in the reconstruction of this Government the equal rights of all be respected and secured. Have we labored thirty years but to add two millions more to a privileged order, or to educate the people into the first principles of human rights—the sacredness of the individual? If the latter, then at this crisis the only question worthy the consideration of all true men and women is the rights of citizens in the reconstruction.

Sincerely yours, E. CADY STANTON.

ANNUAL MEETING

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE thirty-fifth annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society was held in Boston, at the Melodeon, on Thursday of last week, the 25th ult., in accordance with the following call:

THE THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL MEETING of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society is hereby notified to be held at the MELODEON, in Boston, on THURSDAY, January 25, 1866, commencing at 10½ o'clock a.m., and continuing during the day and evening.

In view of the Abolition and Constitutional Prohibition of Slavery throughout the United States, the question of dissolution of the Society will doubtless be a prominent one; opening the subject of the Freedmen of the country, and the nation's duty to them.

EDMUND QUINCY, President.

R. F. WALLCUT, Rec. Sec.

The Society was called to order by the President, EDMUND QUINCY, Esq., who addressed the assembly as follows:

I should be unworthy of the confidence with which you have so long honored me, if I could take this chair for the last time without expressing my gratitude to you and my congratulations on the happy circumstances under which we come together. After thirty-five years of organized action against slavery we at last meet with the object of our labors accomplished, citizens of a country in which no slavery exists. The work of this Society, the parent Society of all the organizations gathered for the abolition of slavery, being finished, our organized existence comes naturally to a close. Slavery gone, there cannot exist logically an anti-slavery society. The only purpose for which we can come together to-day, as it seems to me, is to recognize this fact by formally dissolving ourselves and making the arrangements of a business nature incident to this action. It is not death, it is translation. It is not extinction, it is being swallowed up in victory. I congratulate you most truly on this happy consummation of our hopes and wishes. The Board of Managers at a recent meeting passed resolutions expressing their sense of the propriety and necessity of dissolving the Society at this meeting, which I have the honor to bring officially to your notice:

Whereas, The special object of the formation of the Massachusetts (originally the New England) Anti-Slavery Society was the total abolition of chattel slavery throughout the country; and

Whereas, This glorious event has at last been consummated by the adoption of the anti-slavery amendment to the Constitution of the United States as officially proclaimed by the Government; and

Whereas, The continuance of any Society under such circumstances, which implies by its title and by the object set forth in its constitution, that the system of slavery yet remains to be abolished, would indicate a lack of sound judgment if not an erratic spirit; and

Whereas, the grand supplemental work remaining to be prosecuted in behalf of the emancipated for their succor and education, their moral and religious improvement, and their endowment with all those rights and immunities accorded to white citizenship, is one not peculiar to the Abolitionists, but in its prosecution is enlisting the benevolence, justice, patriotism and religious sentiment of the country; therefore

Resolved, That the Board of Managers deem the approaching annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society a fitting occasion for the discontinuance of the Society, and accordingly recommend it to do so, with gratitude and thanksgiving to Him, who, by His wonder-working power, has caused liberty to be proclaimed throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof.

Happily the circumstances of the Society are in the most favorable position possible for such a dissolution. The report of the treasurer will inform you of the prosperous condition of our financial affairs. It is proper to say, however, that that fortunate state of things is largely owing to the General Agent of the Society, the Rev. S. May, Jr., who has procured personally nearly all the funds necessary for paying the debts and expenses of the Society.

By the dissolution of the Society, its members are very far from proposing to withdraw from the service of the race to which they have given the best years of their lives. None know as well as they how great a work remains to be done, and I am sure there are none in the country more resolute to pursue it. But new fields open themselves, new fellow-laborers offer themselves, the narrow platform of a society organized on a single principle extends itself so as to embrace the whole country. The labors of the friends of the negro are not diminished, they are increased by the cessation of their former form and method of exertion. They will but enter into new relations and undertake fresh toils appropriate to the changed state of things.

This is no time to enlarge on the mighty changes which have taken place since, five years ago, this Society was dispersed by a brutal mob, from which we could have no protection from the authorities of the city. A bloody war has intervened, and slavery has perished from out the land. It has left a fearful legacy of prejudices and malignant passions behind it, the effects of which must continue to be felt for years. It is the duty of those who have seen from the beginning that slavery was the fountain of all the misfortunes and disgraces of the country to do what they may to make that time as short as the nature of things will permit, and to hasten the day when impartial justice and absolutely equal rights shall everywhere prevail. To this work I invite you. Full of joy for what is already done, and full of rational hope for what remains to be done, let us thank God for the past and take courage for the future.

Speech of Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

Mr. GARRISON, on taking the platform, said:

In rising to sustain the recommendation of the Board of Managers, that, in view of the total abolition of slavery throughout the United States, this Society be dissolved at its present annual meeting, I deem the occasion one of special congratulation and abounding joy; calling for heartfelt thanksgiving to God for the wonders he has wrought.

> "In the earthquake He has spoken:
> He has smitten with his thunder
> The iron walls asunder,
> And the gates of brass are broken."

Legally, constitutionally, not a slave is left to clank his fetters, not a slaveholder to claim property in man. All anti-slavery agitation is ended. It is no longer necessary to print and circulate anti-slavery tracts, to send forth anti-slavery lecturers, or to contend with a dominant pro-slavery public sentiment. The nation has decreed the utter extinction of slavery, and the year of jubilee is come. To continue an *Anti-Slavery* Society, therefore, when personal liberty is proclaimed throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof, is manifestly uncalled for. Whatever outrages remain to be denounced, or wrongs to be redressed, or privileges to be gained, the demoniacal system of chattel servitude is ended forever. Henceforth the traffickers in human flesh, slave-drivers and slave-hunters, with all the accursed paraphernalia of blood-hounds, branding-irons, paddles, thumb-screws, scourges, yokes and chains, are to be objects of abhorrent contemplation in the past, and doomed to thickening infamy in all time to come. To help consummate this glorious event was the special, paramount object of this and every other Anti-Slavery Society. Having succeeded, under God, in their righteous undertaking, their appellation is no longer distinctive; and no argument is necessary to show the propriety of their dissolution.

But yesterday, the Abolitionists, as the advocates of immediate and unconditional emancipation, were as drops to the ocean. To-day, they are no longer separate or visible from the great mass of the people. Their old reproach is taken away; and their patient, persevering, uncompromising demand for freedom to the oppressed receives its merited encomium. Aside from what is factious or treasonable in the land, they are now participating in "the era of good feelings." But there has been no dilution of their principles, no abatement of their demands, no deviation from their line of absolute justice. They have not gone down to the millions, but the millions have come up to them. Of the truly loyal and patriotic, who now thinks of branding them as fanatics, incendiaries, or infidels? who now runs to the Bible to find, under Moses or Christ, a divine warrant to enslave even the lowest of the human race? who now glories in the old "covenant with death and agreement with hell," and deplores that the Constitution of the United States, as amended, makes it illegal for any to be held in bondage in any part of the land? who now denies the return to power and supremacy of the old slaveholding oligarchy? who now objects to the strongest utterances against slavery, and all who would shield it from condemnation? And in claiming for those set free whatever right or privilege is accorded to white citizenship, who among the most radical Abolitionists occupies either an unpopular or a solitary position? The last four years have witnessed a revolution in public sentiment, favorable to freedom and free institutions, unparalleled in the history of mankind. The South has been victorious in nothing—not in the conflict of ideas, not on the battle-field, not in diplomacy, not in legislation. The march of "liberty, equality, fraternity," is as irresistible as fate. Incomparably more has been achieved than the most sanguine in our ranks could have expected to behold during their lifetime. One reformatory measure has succeeded another in rapid sequence, removing one prop of the slave system after another, till at last the entire fabric has fallen to the ground, beyond all possibility of reconstruction. The present Congress has touched the highest point of American civilization, and shows a purpose to be faithful to the requirements of freedom, irrespective of complexion or race. Massachusetts leads the van with her Sumner and Wilson, her Boutwell and Elliot, and her other representatives, in accordance with her historic fame. Is there not cause for high exultation, for jubilant thanksgiving, for confident assurance to the end? While it would be unbecoming for Abolitionists to make a parade of what they have done and suffered in the cause of universal freedom, or to reproach those who came into the field at the eleventh hour, surely they may be justified in feeling that, if they had shrunk from bearing the heat and burden of the day, no such harvest would have been gathered. Never dismayed in the darkest period of the long and terrible struggle through which they have passed, ever serene and cheerful in proportion to the fierceness of the opposition arrayed against them—why should any of their number seemingly grow less confident or less thankful, or allow themselves to become querulous and desponding, now that such marvellous changes have been effected

pride and satisfaction when the District of Columbia was cleared of its slaveholding and slave-trading abominations by act of Congress, because the elective franchise was not simultaneously conferred with universal emancipation? Is the Anti-Slavery Amendment of the Constitution, being silent upon the question of political equality, therefore of no practical value? Then at no stage of reform are we to thank God, and take courage; because the goal has not been fully attained! So, when it is first the blade and then the ear, it is no cause for joy or gratitude; because it is not the full corn in the ear! But this is to be equally indiscriminating and unphilosophical. I can neither understand nor cherish such a state of mind. What has God wrought?

"Did we dare,
In our agony of prayer,
Ask for more than he has done?
When was ever his right hand,
Over any time or land,
Stretched as now beneath the sun!"

With the noble Quaker bard of Liberty, Whittier, I can truly say:

"On the oppressor's side was power;
And yet I knew that every wrong,
However old, however strong,
But waited God's avenging hour.

"I knew that truth would crush the lie:—
Somehow, sometime, the end would be;
Yet scarcely dared I hope to see
The triumph with my mortal eye.

"But now I see it! In the sun
A free flag floats from yonder dome,
And at the nation's hearth and home
The justice long delayed is done.

"Not as we hoped, in calm of prayer,
The message of deliverance comes;
But heralded by roll of drums
On waves of battle-troubled air!

"Not as we hoped;—but what are we?
Above our broken dreams and plans
God lays, with wiser hand than man's,
The corner-stones of liberty.

"I cavil not with Him: the voice
That Freedom's blessed gospel tells,
Is sweet to me as silver bells,
Rejoicing!—yea, I will rejoice!"

But the abolition of slavery is not the immediate extinction of the slaveholding spirit. Of course not—it would be miraculous if it were otherwise. In the nature of things, according to the laws of the human mind, no fiat of Congress or of the Government can make the South at once just to the negro and alien to her educational training, though it may curb her brutality and humble her pride. She never has been, and is not now, loyal in spirit or purpose. She still hates the North, despises all Yankeedom, and loathes the Government. If she did not essay to vent her malice, in every form, upon her liberated bondmen, and to play a most factious part in the administration of her local concerns, it would surely disprove the allegations we have always made as to the demonizing power of slavery upon the mental and moral condition of her haughty but vanquished slave oligarchy, whose language is that of the rebel angels in Milton's "Paradise Lost"—

——"of this be sure,
To do aught good never will be our task,
But ever to do ill our sole delight;
As being the contrary to His high will,
Whom we resist. If then His providence
Out of our evil seek to bring forth good,
Our labor must be to prevent that end,
And out of good still to find means of evil."

Hence their frequent murders of the defenceless, unoffending freedmen. Hence their hostility to the Freedmen's Bureau, and to every school established under its auspices for the education of the negro population. Hence this disposition to crowd their rescued victims to the wall, refuse them equitable remuneration for their labor, and keep them as degraded and helpless as possible. Nevertheless, shocking as all this is, I regard it as of small moment compared with the almost infinite suffering and horrors to which slavery constantly gave birth. That "sum of all villanies" is blotted out; and, rave and resist as she will, the South must ere long yield to the necessities of her new condition, and make her institutions and laws homogeneous with those of the North. "Where no fuel is, the fire goeth out," and the effect cannot long survive the removal of the cause.

By the rebellion, and the consequent extinction of slavery, the Abolitionists are no longer obliged to maintain or assume an isolated position. They can now have general co-operation in whatever remains to be done for the education, elevation, protection, and political equality of those whose fetters have been broken. Let them rejoice that, on the new plane of action, they can find a host of co-workers, whose zeal, liberality, and catholicity of spirit are worthy of all praise. The proposition to dissolve this Society—for the all-sufficient reason that there is no more anti-slavery work to be done—is not a proposition to leave the freedmen to their fate, but only that the fitness of things should be consulted. As the early friends of the oppressed—as believers in equal and exact justice to all who dwell on the American soil—it is solemnly binding upon us to protest against any scheme of reconstruction which seeks to perpetuate complexional caste, or which fails to provide the amplest protection on the part of the Government for all whose emancipation the nation has decreed, in all that pertains to personal freedom, the rights of property, and the enjoyment of the elective franchise. And in this righteous work we shall undoubtedly be aided by the great mass of all that is loyal, patriotic and Christian in the land.

Speech of Wendell Phillips, Esq.

Mr. PHILLIPS moved that the resolution adopted by the Board of Managers of the Society be taken up for consideration; and said:

I make this motion, Mr. President, although in the meeting of the Board of Managers I voted against the resolution itself, and although here I shall do all that in me lies to prevent its acceptance by the Society. But we need a motion that shall put before us, in parliamentary form, the only topic which, I suppose, engages at this hour the attention of the members assembled under the call which brings us together. I have attentively listened to the remarks of my friend Mr. Garrison in support of this proposition to disband. With regard to the first half of them, if he had been present yesterday, he would have seen them to be entirely unnecessary, so far as concerns those who are supposed to desire the continuance of this organization. I believe there was no man here yesterday, I shall be surprised if there is one here this morning, who undertakes to say that nothing has been done; who undertakes to say that during these last four years we have not had many most marvellous, most unexpected occasions to rejoice and thank God. We expressed our unfeigned and profound gratitude in view of them. The tone of the remarks and of the resolutions passed yesterday was that such a measure of success had been vouchsafed to the anti-slavery efforts of thirty years, as no history of any reform agitation, in any age, could show. I think we were as jubilant as good sense would allow us to be. I think we appreciated, as thoroughly as Abolitionists could, the significance of every step that had been taken. With regard to all that portion of my friend's remarks which demanded that we should not be reluctant receivers of these successes, which implied that it would be erratic not to rejoice—certainly, the people assembled here yesterday, the members and friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society, could only say—did only say—Amen. But with regard to the latter portion of Mr. Garrison's speech, relating to the question whether, in the first place, anything has been done which *requires* the Abolitionists to disband their organizations; and secondly, whether, even if all has not been accomplished, so much has not been done, and the cause put into such a condition, that they may safely give up their Societies, and trust what remains to be done to the general political and benevolent associations of the nation,—these are the two questions which, as it seems to me, really and fairly demand the attention of this audience; they are, in fact, the only questions before us. As to the proportion of rejoicing in which we may properly indulge, as to the exact amount of what has been done, judgments may differ. Inevitably, where men look out upon public affairs, and try to set a value on the successive steps, they must differ. But certainly it is possible to arrive at some general agreement as to the substantial nature and value of the steps that have been taken; as to how much is really gained and settled beyond contingency; and as to that other question, whether so great a proportion is already beyond contingency, that, with a fair appreciation of the state of public feeling, we may trust to the general operations of society to accomplish the rest.

I do not believe, Mr. Chairman, that anything has been done to justify the Abolitionists in giving up their organization. (Applause.) Of course, I see, as my friend does, that the chattel principle is formally abolished. That is, I am willing to take so much for granted. I should be wanting to my own foresight if I fully and unreservedly granted it; because I have lived long enough to see an act as solemn as this amendment of the Constitution—the Missouri Compromise of 1821—endorsed by the nation, sustained by a majority of the Cabinet of the hour, and by every legal, judicial, and legislative authority of the nation for thirty years, set aside. I have seen the South repudiate its legal sanction of that measure; and I have seen public men—Calhoun, for instance—in the face of history, deny that they ever assented to it. I have seen great States deny the binding effect of that great national compromise, that great national CONTRACT, which, if it did not take the exact form of a constitutional amendment, came as near to it as possible. Having seen that done, I desire to put it on record that, in my opinion, no Constitutional clause is beyond possibility of change until we put behind it those great elements of national character—I mean opinion, capital, custom, institutions—which alone suffice to execute laws and make them durable. So long as these elements are antagonistic to laws, change in them is not only possible but probable. I desire to put it on record that I do not deem it by any means *impossible*, if Salmon P. Chase should be removed by death or accident from the Chief-Justiceship, and in 1868 a Democratic Administration succeed to the White House, the Southern States should deny that their assent to the amendment, under military duress, was binding, and that a total reaction should sweep away from the Constitution itself this amendment abolishing slavery. *I do not say that I expect it;* I do not say that it is probable; but, knowing the South and knowing my own nation, I desire to be understood as believing that it is far within the bounds of possibility. But, so far as this discussion is concerned, I am willing to waive that. I am willing to waive, also, another thing. To-day, that amendment leaves the principle of chattel slavery alive. It will require from three to five years to bring the action of the Supreme Court to bear upon that amendment, before it becomes impossible for South Carolina to sell a black man, on her own soil, into chattel slavery for life, because the amendment provides that slavery and involuntary servitude are abolished, except *as punishment for crime*. What constitutes crime remains for the definition of Southern Legislatures. Already, on their statute-books, there are enactments sanctioning the sale for two, four, seven, or fourteen years, or for life, of certain criminals. A black man, therefore, if he be found guilty of these offences, may, as the law stands to-day, be sold into servitude for life to an irresponsible master, on his plantation. This is slavery—as much slavery as anything we have tried to abolish. Until the Supreme Court can be brought up to the point of deciding that this exception refers only to *punishment* within houses of correction, within civilized prisons, as I have no doubt it was intended to, the two colored people, a man and a woman, who were sold in Maryland last year, and others in other States, may remain in chattel slavery for a longer or shorter period—till our Supreme Court decides the point. Further even than this, when I remember that for seventy years we have had in the Constitution the most ample guarantees for free speech and free printing; and that, nevertheless, it was impossible in one-half of the country, and difficult in the other, to speak or print on the subject of slavery without risking one's life, I see how uncertain it is whether *this Anti-Slavery Amendment will be obeyed in the South at all.* Mr. Garrison had a clear, unquestionable right, under the Constitution, to print the *Liberator* in South Carolina. Why would it have been impossible for him to do so? Because the opinion of that State forbade it, and the opinion of the other States acquiesced. Is it yet *absolutely sure* that the opinion of Southern States will not set this Anti-Slavery Amendment, this new constitutional guaranty of the negro's freedom, at defiance, just as it did Mr. Garrison's constitutional right to print and speak in Carolina? If they should do so, is it quite certain that a majority at the North would not, to a large extent, acquiesce under strong political temptation? Let us keep our Anti-Slavery armor till this is settled beyond reasonable doubt.

I am not ready to say, therefore, when I descend to details, that even chattel slavery is practically ended. Congress chose to go back to 1787, and take up the old form of constitutional prohibition, instead of accepting that which the experience and the anti-slavery suggestion of 1861 had offered them. We Abolitionists know well how this form of words, used in the Ordinance of 1787, which was the basis and guaranty of freedom in the Northwestern States, was evaded there; and how many abuses—slavery in substance—existed under its shadow. This exception (of *slavery* allowed for *crime*) is a large door. As the old lawyer said, two hundred years ago, it is a door large enough to drive a coach-and-six full of slaves through. But I will waive that also, and I will start, for the purposes of this discussion, with the presumption that Salmon P. Chase will live; that the Supreme Court will gradually be organized with a majority so decisive that we may fairly trust it; although, as you well know, Mr. Chairman, the rumors from Washington at this hour are that that Supreme Bench is ready to decide that the test oath prescribed by Congress is unconstitutional; that Mr. Chase and his associates are not ready judicially to endorse that action of Congress, which has been regarded as the strength of their anti-slavery fortification. But I waive this, I say; and I only mention it in the presence of Abolitionists, in order to remind them that at this hour there are some of us who are not blind to the dangers hidden even under this anti-slavery amendment, which Mr. Seward has announced to us. If you ask me, on my honor, whether, with that anti-slavery amendment ratified, I deem even the chattel principle finally erased from United States legislation, I should be compelled to answer no.

But, aside from that, how do we stand to-day as regards the colored race? As I understand the anti-slavery enterprise, it never confined itself to the abolition of chattel slavery. I think you will find this a correct statement. If you go back to the first four or five years of the anti-slavery agitation, you will find the term "chattel slavery" rarely used. The Declaration of Sentiments, made in 1833, only enumerates the "treating of men as marketable commodities" among the other atrocities of slavery. It denies man's "right to enslave or imbrute his brother, to hold or acknowledge him for one moment as a piece of merchandise, to keep back his hire by fraud, or to brutalize his mind by denying him the means of intellectual, social, and moral improvement."

The Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society, made in 1833, states the object of the Society to be "the entire Abolition of Slavery in the United States," and has no word of reference anywhere to "chattelism." The Constitution of the Massachusetts Society, 1832—this Society which it is now proposed to dissolve—states its object to be "to endeavor, by all means sanctioned by law, humanity and religion, to effect the *abolition of slavery in the United States*, to improve the character and condition of the free people of color, to inform and correct public opinion in relation to their situation and rights, and OBTAIN FOR THEM EQUAL CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES WITH THE WHITES." When, therefore, the resolution now before us states that "the special object of this Society was the total abolition of *chattel* slavery," it uses language which has no warrant in our Constitution, and thus takes for granted the very point in dispute.

The first man, to my knowledge in anti-slavery history, who insisted on this peculiar bitterness of American slavery was Theodore D. Weld; and that was as late as 1836. He then suggested to us that the peculiar bitterness of the American system was, that, going beyond the Greek, outdoing the European, it did something which no legal system of slavery had ever undertaken specifically to do; and that was, it made a man a thing; it made a man a chattel (in the words of the English law) as much as a horse or an ox or a piece of furniture. Aristotle's definition of slavery is, "A man obliged to submit to a law in which he has no voice." Demosthenes in his great oration spoke the idea of all Greeks when he made slaves to be "those obliged to submit to the will of another." Slavery is "constrained servitude," says Stephens; "an obligation of perpetual service," says Hargrave; "obligation to labor for a master without consent," says Paley; "obligation to serve for life in return for necessaries," says Grotius; a slave is "one in the absolute power of a master," says Bailey's Dictionary; "one bound or held to service," says the United States Constitution. In fact, a slave was a man robbed of all rights, not simply a man sold for money.

Now, as I understand this enterprise, when it commenced it undertook, in broad terms, to do this: to put the black race on this Continent where the white race stood. (Applause.) It did not presume to claim for the negro woman the right to the ballot-box. It had no specific terms to propose. It said—"There is a certain system of law which is applied solely to negroes; we wish to wipe it out." I said to John C. Fremont once—"What is your idea of the policy of this Government?" He replied, "It is that the word *white* should not be found in its Statute Book." (Applause.) I contend that the broad purpose of this Anti-Slavery Movement in 1833, as the world understood it, was that in the Constitution and Laws of this Union, the word *white* should not be found. (Renewed applause.) I may be enlarging the purpose of the movement, but that is certainly what its first documents would lead any unprejudiced reader to infer. That is what our Declaration of Sentiments and Constitution in substance declare. That, also, is what the loyal American people meant when they ratified this amendment; which says nothing of *chattel* slavery, but forbids *slavery*, ALL SLAVERY. When the other Institutions of the Nation are so arranged as to allow of and secure its being *obeyed in its full meaning*, then, and not till then, I shall consent to give up Anti-Slavery organizations. But while so many at the North seem willing to admit that this Constitutional Amendment only prohibits *chattel* slavery; and while ten States of this Continent are welcomed back into the Union by the President of the United States, and possibly by a majority of Congress, with a labor code in almost every one of them making a broad distinction between the labor of the black man and the labor of the white man, between the rights of the black man and the rights of the white man, between the civil remedies for the black man and the civil remedies of the white man, between the protection of the black man and the protection of the white man, between the penal enactments for the black man and the penal enactments for the white man—and all this is held to be legal—I shall say that my duty to the black race, as a part of the great anti-slavery movement of 1831, is not accomplished. (Applause.)

You will say, "Perhaps these States will not be admitted." Mr. Garrison says the sky is bright; we may hope that ere long public opinion will reach such a level that we can close the door against such reconstruction. Perhaps we can. I think it probable, certainly possible. When, in October, I said in this city, "the South is victorious," I said, "*to-day*, the South is victorious." And why did I say it? With what appeal did I follow that announcement in the city of Boston, and in the forty other cities where I have given that warning since? I have said, "Gentlemen, by the plan which your President insists upon, the South is victorious; and unless you put that courage into Congress which shall checkmate the Administration, the South will be victorious." I never despaired of the Republic. I never said to men, "Go home! Your cause is lost!" I never said, "Pull down that flag! You are beaten!" All I said at the outset was, "There is a traitor in the camp. As the signs now are, the Administration is the helper and countenancer of a system which brings back the South victorious in our day. Prevent it!" What do I want this Society to keep together for! In order to help to prevent it. (Applause).

Mr. Garrison and I do not differ as to the negro's rights. His own address says, in words more terse than I could use, "What the negro needs for his protection is every political right." Now, how are the North and the South divided? Why, as he told us, "the South loathes and hates" (I am quoting his language) "the law which protects, by our system, the slave, or tries to." That is her public opinion. What is Northern public opinion? It is divided into two sections—the President and the public; and I include in the public, Congress. The President says, "It will be safe to remand that race, without the suffrage, without one single political or civil right, except their rights as laborers, back into the hands of their old masters." He said to Congress—"I have demanded of the Southern States that they shall protect the black man's rights as a laborer." That was his own statement, maturely considered, given after three or four speeches in which he had expressed it more in detail. "I have demanded of the South that she shall protect the black man's rights as a laborer." He makes no concealment that he believes in a white man's government; that he accords to the black man no liberty except the liberty to work; and he insists upon that plan.

Friends, it is idle to chop logic and play with words. You and I have lived thirty years. We know what this Government is. We know it as well as if we stood behind the curtain and saw the dirty wires, and how all its puppets are pulled. You know, and do not need me to tell you, that the President of the United States holds to-day a patronage such as is equalled by no monarch on the face of the earth; that the War Power and the confused state of the nation have given him a patronage such as no government in Europe, I had almost said in Asia, has to bring to bear upon its subjects. Does any rational man doubt, that in this struggle betwixt the President and Congress, he will use his utmost power to put his scheme into execution? As I told you yesterday, the wisest lobbyist that I know in our ranks, John G. Whittier, whom Mr. Garrison has quoted, said to me under his own roof, "Tell me what Andy Johnson wants on the first day of January, and I will tell you beforehand what Congress will do on the first of April." Of course he meant, unless the people can be rallied to prevent it. Every man familiar with legislation knows that unless an outside pressure, such as has never been known in this country, can be brought to bear upon Congress, the President will beat. Why, gentlemen, you who are familiar with the history of this country know that there is no instance on record where Congress has stood up finally against a President of its own party. There have been cases where a Whig Senate has stood up against a Democratic President, but I believe you will search in vain upon our records for an instance where Congress has stood up against a President of its own party.

Now, here is the position in which we stand. The President has clearly announced, from the day he took the oath as President down to this hour, with a frankness that does him honor, that he believes in a white man's government, and that he believes the negroes to be a totally distinct, subordinate, and laboring class. ("Shame on him.") That is the theory which he means to carry out; and I say, if he succeeds, if the same white men who led South Carolina out of the Union bring her back into the Union on that basis, then, practically speaking, the negroes of South Carolina will be, in everything except the name, slaves. If they have the right of locomotion without a pass, it will only be because the white man chooses to grant it. ("Hear," "hear.") If they have the right to work and make contracts, it will only be because the white man chooses to grant it. Look at the position of the South to-day. They are on probation; of course they are trying to put the best foot forward; they are trying to behave so that the North will welcome them back into the House and the Senate. They are certainly in no better mood of mind than they exhibit to-day. If they know or feel anything that will prejudice their cause, they will keep it back; they will show us the bright side. What does Louisiana say to the black man? "You shall make a contract to work for a year in the first ten days of January. If the 11th day of January finds you,—the head of a family, a husband, with wife and children,—without a contract, then the Provost Marshal, Justice of the Peace, the State authorities, shall have the right to make a contract for you, and bind you for a year, at what they think proper and just." In some of the States these contracts, thus arbitrarily made, are to be enforced by the lash; in none has the negro practically any appeal to a court of law. The slave codes of South Carolina, Louisiana, and Mississippi, laid upon their legislative tables to-day, are a fair warning to the North.

What says J. G. Forney to-day? What language does he use toward Charles Sumner and his friends in Congress? Just what I had the honor to say to you on this platform eighteen months ago, when we were talking about Mr. Lincoln. I said, "If the Republican party elect Mr. Lincoln on that platform, the journals will cry, 'You are concluded. He don't believe in the political rights of the negro; he announced it; and you chose him after such an announcement. You have now no right to oppose his carrying out this policy.'" So Forney says in his journals, day after day, to Charles Sumner, "You know, all you Republicans, the basis on which Andy Johnson and Abraham Lincoln were put into office. It was not the radical basis, and you have no right to claim more than the Baltimore Convention bound the Administration to." Now, I do not mean to be bound by any such future argument. I don't mean to have South Carolina enter this Union, with the right to say, "I told you before you voted to admit my Senators and Representatives what my labor code was; you endorsed it when you admitted them."

But you will say, as my friend Garrison does, "It is not necessary for us to keep together in order to make this protest; the whole world is making it." Well, in the first place,—and here is the bite and gist of the question,—you will agree with me that it is necessary for somebody to make the protest. When Gov. Brownlow says to you, "If you withdraw your troops from Nashville, this Union Legislature cannot sit here;" when the Union men of Tennessee send up word to Washington, "If you withdraw the troops, we cannot live here," it is manifest that the Union men of the North have something militarily to do in such cases. The same is true in the moral field. But my friend Mr. Garrison says, "We may give up our organization, because there are others so Radical and so much stronger, that we may fairly be swallowed up in them." You will understand that we differ no whit in regard to the need of the nation, that the negro should have the ballot; it is indispensable, we both of us believe, to the safety of the nation, and it is simple justice to the negro. It is not because he would weaken the movement that he asks us to disband; but it is his idea that we may safely disband, our Society being only the fifth wheel to a coach, an unnecessary auxiliary to the great public that is moving forward harmoniously; and we ought to sink into the general current. Well, in the first place, every one of you acquainted with the leading combatants in Congress knows that they have no such faith in the strength of the general current behind them, as to be willing that we should give up any instrumentality, even the feeblest, that we can bring to bear upon a question of such importance as this. If you have not made yourselves aware of this fact, go and ask them; I do not ask you to rely upon me. Go and ask Henry Wilson, Charles Sumner, Judge Kelley, Ben Wade, Geo. W. Julian, and the ten men whose names are as jewels on our crown, whether they think this organization can be spared. Every one of them with whom I have corresponded, or in whose presence I have stood, has said: "Do not disband! Do not take down a single one of your Anti-Slavery banners! Print your ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD every week!" They urged my friend to continue his journal also. If you may trust the men who are fighting in the very breach of Thermopylæ, farthest in the front, their advice is not to disband. They say they feel strengthened as long as we exist. Judge Kelley's last word to one of the members of our Committee, when he left for Washington, after the Christmas holidays, was: "You don't know how every single strong word you utter helps us, and every compromising word weakens us, inside that House." He was speaking to us on this very topic on which I am speaking to-day. That is one reason for continuing this Society—the wish of the men who are in the hottest of the fight. They want every Anti-Slavery journal continued; they bid us cling to every Anti-Slavery organization that can call together the old Anti-Slavery host.

Then, again, my friend alluded to the freedmen—to the benevolent associations that have started into existence to aid him. Now, the very necessity of this discussion throws us into an attitude of criticism on that organization, which I deeply regret, but it is inevitable. I have lectured again and again, this winter and the winter before, and given the proceeds of the evening to the freedmen. No man has ever heard me utter a word against these organizations. I have given them what help I could wherever they have crossed my path, and have gone out of my way to meet them. But still, what do the various Freedmen's Associations, under their different names, undertake to do for the negro? They undertake to educate him. As Judge Bond told me, in the city of Baltimore, "It is as much as we can undertake to do to-day in Maryland; we should block our own path were we to undertake more." They undertake to give the black man books and to teach him to read; they undertake to give him food, in some cases, and preserve him from want. Well, these are noble purposes, nobly carried out; a timely and necessary benevolence. I applaud it. Let no man go away and say I ever uttered a word against it. But it is another question when our friends, writing in the Anti-Slavery journals, as they have done for the last year, and friends on this platform, instance the Freedmen's Aid Societies, the Freedmen's Bureau, etc., as channels into which we ought to be naturally drawn and swallowed up; for then I begin to ask, "What is the nature of this movement into which I am to be swallowed up?" I look at the great political organization, the Bureau, and what do I find? I find the most honest and radical man in that Bureau, Gen. RUFUS SAXTON—a man who by his fidelity to the negro has made every white man in South Carolina hate him, urged by the chief of the Bureau, who goes down to see him, to resign, because the President wants him out of the way, and dares not remove him for fear of public opinion. Why does he want him out of the way? Because the white men of South Carolina hate him. Gen. Saxton says, "I decline to offer him that facility," and keeps his office. (Applause.) What is the consequence? The consequence is, that in ninety days after the interview, Gen. Saxton is relieved! ("Hear, hear.")

Wherever I go—with the single and most honorable exception of Gen. Fisk at Chattanooga—I find the Freedmen's Bureau active, perhaps, in a feeble way, to protect the negro, in certain localities, from outrages and wrongs, but unable, from its very organization, to do anything except sail behind the Administration—keep itself within the limits of the Presidential purpose. How idle to suppose it can do anything more? Its chief taken from West Point, nine out of ten of whose graduates we know scoff at the idea of the negro's equality; his subordinates, many of them, taken from the same clique, and appointed by a Government which tells us frankly and beforehand that it don't believe in the equality of the negro—of course, you cannot expect—it is to suppose you can make bricks without straw, to expect—that Gen. Howard could do anything else except be subordinate to the Administration that appointed him. When, therefore, you have found out what is the purpose, the mood, the temper, of Andy Johnson, you may infer accurately what and how much the Bureau will be permitted to do. In view of this, I ask, Are Abolitionists content to be swallowed up in a current whose direction is entirely under control of President Johnson? Are they, alone among all the Radicals of the country, willing to put their consciences wholly into his keeping and have their action limited by his tether? Surely not. No man will pretend so for a moment.

Suppose I leave the Bureau, and go to the voluntary organizations existing in this city, in New York, and in Philadelphia. Now, understand me. I have an unfeigned respect for a great many of the gentlemen who have made themselves prominent in that movement to watch over the black men. Their publications, their public meetings, their calls, their circulars, have been exactly adapted to their purpose. They have called for funds to educate, feed, and clothe the negro. That is what they had to do, and they have done it faithfully. But I undertake to say to-day, that in the whole nine months during which I have carefully watched their proceedings, any one speech of an inferior member of Congress, whom you would not count among the trust-worthy men of that body, has said more in earnest advocacy of the claim of suffrage for the negro before the Southern States are admitted, than every document sent forth by the Freedmen's Aid Society, and every speaker in its ranks during that time. It is not their fault. You might as well ask me to argue the woman question on the temperance platform, as to ask them to argue the suffrage question on their platform. It does not belong there. They are doing their duty, fitly, properly, faithfully. I am not finding fault with them; but when men ask me to substitute that organization for ours, one that will call earnestly for and vigilantly guard the rights of the freedman, then I begin to discriminate. I ask, "Are they organized for this work? Do they believe in it? Have they set themselves to do it, and have they done it?" I know that Judge Bond, after that statement to me in his own house in Baltimore, came to New York in May, and made a speech in favor of suffrage. I know that, in half-a-dozen instances, there have been other speeches of the same kind. But I say, and say it deliberately, take nine-tenths of the documents published by the Freedmen's Aid Societies, under all their names, and if they have claimed suffrage for the black man, it has been so slightly, so feebly, so intermittently, so semi-occasionally, that the public does not recognize them as among the claimants of this right. I should not misrepresent that movement if I said, that the great American public does not recognize it as standing, for instance, where Charles Sumner stands. Look at this new journal, the *Nation*, which undertakes to represent these Freedmen's Associations, and which all the subscribers of Anti-Slavery papers are advised to take instead of the old Anti-Slavery journals. How uncertain is its sound! How timid, vacillating, and non-committal is its policy! Where has Mr. Sumner a more heartless and unfair critic? Are you willing such a neutral should represent us? I name Mr. Sumner not from personal friendship or partiality, or in blindness to whatever defects some may fancy to exist in his statesmanship, or anything else; but I say to-day his name is a fair symbol, the accepted symbol, to represent this claim on the part of a portion of the American people, that before one rebel State puts its foot inside the halls of Congress, they shall put the ballot into the hands of the negro.

I put it to you then, whether there is, as Mr. Garrison says in his address, any organized movement, Republican party or otherwise, in the loyal States, into which this Society could consistently vote to be absorbed? [VOICES—"No."] If there is, I am ignorant of it. I have looked at the North-eastern press; I see the New York press daily; I know its spirit; I know exactly how far it goes, and how much it claims. The Republican papers claim suffrage for the negro; they say it is just and indispensable. But nine out of ten are willing to postpone the settlement of the question until after South Carolina puts her hand on the helm of Government. The *Evening Post* leads a majority of forty-nine out of fifty who say, "It is safe to remand that black race back into the hands of the white, and trust to the latter to give the blacks civil and political rights."

Allow me to turn aside and say, it is the policy of the Administration that has brought this about. The Northern masses were ready for reconstruction on the basis of negro suffrage. The South expected it in May, as Roger A. Pryor confessed. But the North does not yet so imperiously demand it, as to be able to stand pp against the Administration. With the Administration on our side, the North would have been practically a unit on the question With the Administration, as it is, against us, it will require the utmost effort to save the fruits of the war. If lost, it will be the President who betrayed us and broke up the Republican party; which, in its present mood, would allow us, our ideas, and our methods no place in it. Such is the Republican party. Mr. Sumner writes me from Washington—"They say to me here, the whole North-eastern press is against you—gives you the cold shoulder." It does! You know it. When he spoke that one word, which outweighs a hundred speeches in Congress—"*whitewashing*" (Applause)—the press here, with perhaps a dozen exceptions, gave him the cold shoulder—talked just as they did when my friend Mr. Garrison was mobbed: "Mobs are bad things, but there are some exceptional cases where they may be pardoned; hope there *never will be another!*"

Such a party does not wish to absorb us, and the leading men in the political world, who bear the brunt of this fight, demand that we should keep together. The great benevolent associations that have been organized in behalf of the freedmen, do not do our work; they do not profess to do our work; they have not tried to do our work; I do not believe they are capable of doing our work. (Loud applause.) Mr. Chairman, I know as well as you do the difficulty of raising money in this country. You know very well, that if you want a hundred thousand dollars in your treasury, you must get it out of a very average public sentiment. It will not do to be radical; if you are, you thin your ranks, and weaken your resources. The Freedmen's Society put my friend's name on their list of Vice-Presidents, and they put by his side a Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. (Laughter.) They did right. They want a quarter of a million of dollars, and in order to get it they must have the support of the five hundred thousand communicants of the churches of the North. They could not do otherwise. "The children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light." They knew they could not fill their treasury with a quarter of a million of dollars by putting on only Mr. Garrison's name. They needed him, in order that the world might know "this is an honest movement for the negro." They wanted Bishop Simpson, in order that the world might know that it does not go so far as to cut the links to the Church behind it. They did right. I do not criticize them for doing it. They did the very thing they ought to have done, and they filled their treasury in consequence of it. I only say that while they do their chosen duty well, there is no basis that can bear up the whole of my friend's anti-slavery demand. They have not scope enough to afford me or him room to do our whole duty to the colored race. Hence, it will not do to let our Anti-Slavery Societies be absorbed into them. [illegible] understand me, I am glad there are men to do that work. The black [illegible] needs them wofully. When you sent the forlorn hope over those works in front of Petersburg, nine out of ten to find their graves, it was necessary; and if the black regiment went forward unsupported, and left 500 out of 1,000 in the ditch, it was bravely, nobly done of them, in this effort to give liberty to their race. But the great army was held behind them, so as to be drawn up finally in front of Richmond. Now, we of this small organization are still the forlorn hope who are to march in the van. We are to say to the lagging Republicans, at our own expense, with no cordial public behind us, "That President, whom the *Journal*, the *Advertiser*, and the *Transcript* are trying to make out to-day to think with them, does not." He has not said it. It is a delusive, however honest, attempt to give you heart and courage. They are crying, "Peace, peace, when there is no peace." It is for us to do to-day what we have done for thirty years—utter on the house-tops what Henry Wilson whispers in corners; it is to utter in public, and at the risk of hatred and ruin, what these politicians will tell you in private, though unwilling—perhaps wisely so, on their theory—to be responsible for it, and have the party compromised by it. It is just as necessary that this should be done now as it was thirty years ago, and I do not know any organization that is willing to do such work but this. All I say to my friends is what Daniel Webster said in Faneuil Hall, when they told him the Whig party was to be disbanded—"Where am I to go?" I say to my friends here, and to Mr. Garrison, if the organization which undertakes with perfect freedom to arraign the President, to say to the Administration, "Your policy betrays the negro," and to say to Congress, "If you do not stand up against and checkmate it, the cause is lost for ten years to come"—if this organization is dissolved, "where am I to go?" I should not be allowed to make that speech on the platform of the Freedmen's Aid Society; I should not be allowed to make it on the platform of a Republican caucus. When Charles Sumner, with the Senatorial mantle around him, made it at Worcester in the Republican Convention, that very body repudiated him in its resolutions; and if I, a private citizen, had attempted to make it, I should have been stopped; indeed, it would have been deemed an impertinence and an intrusion for me to have gone there for the purpose of making it.

I say again, I find no fault with the Freedmen's Bureau, although I have made these criticisms upon it; all I say is *its work is not my work.* I desire to make one other remark, and I do it in the same spirit with which I have referred to the Freedmen's Associations. Last May, in the city of New York, the American Anti-Slavery Society held a session devoted to just such a discussion as this. Certain gentlemen, the very flower of that organization, differed from us in opinion, and chose to retire. They left us, the majority, but feeble in resources, to man the fort which they said did not need manning. There is but one question which divides the advanced and governing minds of this country. It is not whether the negro shall have the ballot. All such minds agree to that. It is whether his having it shall be imposed as *a condition on all the rebel States before they are re-admitted.* Some Republicans say yes—others are willing to trust the whole matter to the rebels after they get back. *Which side does the President take?* May he be followed and trusted; or must he be watched and opposed? These are the momentous questions to-day. Now, I say, in all kindness, I have watched the speeches, I have watched the journals, I have watched the printed declarations of that party which went off last May, and with the exception of a few articles, which I could count on the fingers of one hand, I affirm, with all respect and in fidelity to the slave, that that party has not made itself heard and felt by the American public in behalf of suffrage for the black man before the Southern States are admitted to the Union, ("Hear, hear,") and on the President's real position, so far as I know, no person has sufficient evidence to settle what is their real opinion on those two momentous questions. I have seen their weekly journal; I have watched its labors; I know the one or two cases that can be named against me; but in eight months, during the most critical period of the history of the American Republic,—the "formative period," as Mr. Tilton told us yesterday, when the decisions of an hour are to fix the policy of half a century, I affirm, with all respect and no unkindness, that those lips have been substantially silent. ("Hear, hear.") If anything has been done by the anti-slavery body on that question of suffrage before reconstruction, it has been done by the men whom they left behind. I judge the future by the past. The only lamp by which my feet are guided ahead is the light thrown upon them by the past. I look forward to the same result if this organization is dissolved. I look forward to the same result if this organization is broken in halves. Disbanding this Society does not mean our being absorbed into other Associations which are doing our work—this necessary work. In the light of this experience it means our wholly leaving this special work to be done, if done at all, by others! I do not believe that the men who go off from us, numbering perhaps the majority, and bearing down your banner, will be heard of by you as you have heard of them in times past, in the front rank, day by day, week by week, reported, out of spite, in every opposition journal, sneered at by every conservative Republican, denounced as factious by every adherent of the President. You will never hear of them;—you have not heard of them lately. (A Voice,—"That is true.") Now, they have as much right to their course as I have to mine; their judgment is as likely to be correct as mine. I allow the utmost for this honest difference of opinion. I have no right to criticize. At the feet of my teacher and leader, I have been contented to sit a more than willing pupil. But, in my opinion, there is to-day but one vital question before the country—*the conditions of Reconstruction*—on that question I have no knowledge of any thorough, active effort on the part of those who left us in May. At this hour, I see four millions of men standing on the threshold of liberty, and only on the threshold. Travelling over the Union as I am, five days in a week, I see no such public opinion as leads me to be willing to pull down my flag and tell this public that the work is done. I said last night, and I say again, no man asked Maj. Anderson how many guns he discharged under that flag at Sumter; nobody asked him what iron-clads he had demolished or what forts he had silenced. The country said to him, beleaguered, with only a hundred men, and summoned to surrender, "Keep your flag flying, that the world may know the nation still has one flag floating over the soil of South Carolina." So I say to-day, we may not do much; we may hold only quarterly meetings; we may not get five hundred people together; but when, at the bidding of my friend, you pull down this Massachusetts Anti-Slavery flag, the members of the Republican party will fold their arms and say, "The Abolitionists say the work is done—we can go home. They say the President is right; that the Administration can be trusted; that Congress is on guard; we can devote ourselves to making money." Mr. Boutwell gets up and makes the best speech, almost, ever uttered under the dome of the Capitol. (Applause.) But Mr. Fessenden says, and all the press echoes him, "You may trust the President." What does the public say? "Well, if the President is right, and Congress right, what is the need of any anxiety on our part?" You let the level of public vigilance down. So to-day, pull down this banner—nobody knows how often you meet; nobody knows how large your meetings are; nobody knows how large or how small an amount is in your treasury, but the public takes note of this *one fact*, and it says, "The Anti-Slavery Society has pulled down its flag; the anti-slavery work is done; we may trust the rest to ordinary politics." Never, with my permission, in the present peril of the rights of the black man! Mr. Garrison has described their peril, and every Southern man tells you of their peril. I see before me a gentleman who brings the same report that another man of the same name, Col. Daniels, brings from Tennessee, that Redpath gives from South Carolina, that my correspondent from Savannah gives me, that United States officers at Fernandina report—it is that the black man is worse off now than in 1860, practically speaking. I do not count the outrages; I do not care for them, as the mere record of atrocities. Here is a gentleman, well known in this city, formerly connected with the press, and now engaged in North Carolina in the manufacture of turpentine. He told me, "I could fairly make oath that two negroes were shot down a week; and I certainly could say that one was in the very locality in which I live." It is no matter, except as a significant fact, revealing the mood of the Southern white man towards that race, and the willingness of the Government that it should be so.

Under these circumstances, while the negro has no ballot, no land, no civil right whatever—not one—I cannot consent to the dissolution of this Society. What did the Mayor of

contending for immediate and unconditional emancipation; now they are with us in consigning slavery to the grave of eternal infamy.

Now, a word in regard to the ballot. I am not satisfied as to the consistency of Mr. Phillips in that direction. He has known, all through his anti-slavery career, that in three-fourths of the free States the colored people have been and are still proscribed at the ballot-box. Did you ever hear him dwell upon the enormity of this exclusion, and represent the freedom of those disfranchised as therefore nothing worth? (Voices—"Yes.") When or where?

Mr. Foster—The Society sent all its agents into Rhode Island when the question was up there.

Mr. Garrison—My reference is to Mr. Phillips. In regard to the importance and necessity of putting the ballot into the hands of the colored citizens of the free States, we have had no discussion on this platform. But this I say, that, in the matter of suffrage, I shall not know any distinction on account of sex any more than on account of complexion. I shall contend for the right of women to vote as well as for the right of men, white or black, and shall maintain that the principle ought to be as impartially carried out in the one case as in the other.

But, to come back to the question before us: what need have we any longer for an *Anti-Slavery* Society? Last May, my friend Mr. Phillips said at New York that he was not willing to disband the American Anti-Slavery Society until Mr. Seward had officially proclaimed the adoption of the Anti-Slavery Amendment of the Constitution. Well, Mr. Seward has made the joyful announcement. Slavery having been abolished, and prohibited hereafter in any and every part of the Union, why, I again ask, seek to continue an *Anti-Slavery* Society. It becomes a misnomer, and is simply ridiculous. The whole discussion now turns, everywhere, upon the suffrage question. Then why not disband this association, and organize a Free Suffrage Society? That would be sensible and to the point.

Mr. Phillips would not say anything damaging to the Freedmen's Aid Commission—no, he is a friend to it. But how much of friendship was indicated in his reference to Bishop Simpson and myself, as officers of that Commission? How much interest in that vast educational movement did his speech inspire in your minds? Of course, I do not know; but I do not think you will be led by it to contribute anything in that direction. And yet that Commission exactly supplements the anti-slavery movement. It is doing a magnificent work of justice and beneficence—a work that is primary, fundamental, and inclusive of all rights yet to be won, and privileges yet to be conceded—a work not to be passed over slightingly, nor spoken of as something that is well enough in its way: it is to give to the entire South the common school system of New England, free to all comers, but with special reference to the freedmen whose claims are paramount. In the prosecution of this enterprise, I think all who claim to be Abolitionists should take a deep interest. There are now at the South nearly seven hundred schools, more than twelve hundred teachers, and about seventy thousand colored pupils in various stages of educational advancement. "Knowledge is power," and with the power thus obtained the freedmen of the South will know how to demand and procure the full recognition of their rights,

It is a matter of indifference to me how the vote shall be decided on this occasion. The Society has done its *anti-slavery* work, whether it chooses to admit the fact or not. If any of you fancy that simply coming here once a year to hold a meeting is still essential to the cause of freedom, you can cherish the pleasing illusion. Nevertheless, you can no longer make yourselves, if you try, isolated from the great mass of the people. A fertile and ingenious brain can fill the air with doubts, apprehensions, surmises, gloomy prophecies, and frightful spectres; but the slave system has gone down forever. The evil spirit to which slavery gave birth does not die at once, but, soon or late, it must die; for that from which it proceeded is no longer in existence to give it sustenance and scope.

I counsel the use of new instrumentalities, and a wider co-operation, for the prosecution of the work yet remaining to be done. I am for vindicating the rights of the colored people before the law, civil and political, in the East, in the West, in the North, in the South, as I would vindicate the rights of the white people. There must be no complexional proscription. This is abolitionism—original, primitive abolitionism; and there is not an Abolitionist in the country who does not take this view of the question. There is no difference of feeling or opinion, therefore, in regard to the principles we cherish, the object we have in view, or the extent of the claims we make for impartial justice to the colored population of the country. If this Anti-Slavery Society be dissolved, we are still men and women, fellow-citizens, but no longer compelled to occupy an isolated and unpopular position as of old; for we can now join our efforts with those of loyal millions to ensure liberty and equality for black and white alike throughout the republic. We may affect to be singular, exclusive, and all important as a distinct organization; but an *anti-slavery* organization without means, without agents, without a publication, and without slavery in the land, is one which I think had better be decently buried out of sight.

After a brief speech by Henry C. Wright, in advocacy of the proposition to dissolve the Society, and in favor of forming a Free Suffrage Society, Rev. Samuel May, Jr., offered the following preamble and resolutions:

Whereas, The people of the United States have made the abolition and prohibition of slavery a part of the Constitution of their National Union, and have given to Congress the right to enforce this prohibition by appropriate legislation; and

Whereas, Slavery in the United State is henceforth unconsitutional, illegal and criminal, as well as immoral and unchristian always; and

Whereas, An Anti-Slavery Society is a solecism and a superfluity where slavery is abolished and prohibited; therefore

Resolved, That the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society should now be dissolved. And it is hereby declared, at the adjournment of this its thirty-fifth annual meeting, to be dissolved.

Resolved, That it is with grateful praise to God, and with reverent confession of His wondrous providence, that we unite to-day in recognizing the overthrow of slavery in our land.

Resolved, That, with like confidence in the constant power of Divine Truth and Justice, we acknowledge the magnitude of the work still to be done—to lift up those so long cast down; to visit those so long in the prison of slavery; to feed and to clothe the minds and bodies of those so long starved and perishing, and to proclaim to them God's acceptable year; and implore the same blessing upon our efforts to secure to them every right as men, as citizens, and as the equal children of God.

Resolved, That, to the evil purpose of many at the South, and some at the North, to re-establish slavery in some form, we oppose the sure purpose of a victorious and determined nation, the indignant judgment of the civilized world, and the resistless might of the Eternal Providence; and warn all such to beware how they attempt to fight against both God and man.

Resolved, That the claim of "Land and the Ballot" for the freedmen, indispensable as both are, is not enough; inasmuch as the profitable cultivation of the one, and the free exercise of the other will never be allowed to him, if left now without the presence and energetic protection of the United States Government. And hence we protest against the withdrawal of the United States forces from the late rebel States, until absolute guarantees are given for justice to all, without distinction of color.

Resolved, That, in our judgment, Freedmen's Societies should be formed in every town, for the purpose of keeping these great subjects before the people, and for aiding the vast and indispensable work of the freedmen's education, and their endowment with all the rights of manhood.

Mr. May spoke in support of the resolutions, and was followed by Mr. Wm. B. Earle, who, without concluding his speech, gave way for a motion to adjourn, which was carried, and the meeting adjourned, to meet at 2½ o'clock.

Afternoon Session.

The Society was called to order by the President, and the Treasurer submitted his annual report which was accepted.

Mr. Earle then resumed his speech, in opposition to the resolution providing for the dissolution of the Society, and was followed by Mrs. A. K. Foster, James N. Buffum of Lynn, Stephen S. Foster, Rev. Mr. Thomas, and A. B. Alcott,—Messrs. Buffum and Thomas speaking in favor of the resolution, the others opposing it.

The question was then taken, and the resolution lost, by a large majority.

On motion of Mr. Foster, a committee of three was appointed to nominate officers of the Society for the ensuing year, and also Finance and Business Committees, as follows: S. S. Foster, Rev. J. T. Sargent, and C. L. Remond.

The Committee, through their Chairman, reported the following list of officers:

President—Rev. John T. Sargent.

Rec. Secretary—Mrs. C. M. Severance.

Cor. Secretary—Charles K. Whipple.

The report was accepted, and the persons designated elected.

On taking the chair, Mr. Sargent made a few appropriate remarks, after which, speeches were delivered by Samuel May, Jr., Theodore Tilton, and Wendell Phillips. Mr. Phillips concluded his speech by offering the following resolution, which was adopted unanimously:

Resolved, That we most profoundly and cordially appreciate the long and efficient anti-slavery labors of the late President of this Society, and of those members of the Board of Managers who have just left us: that we rejoice with them in the marvellous success of those efforts, and however we and they may differ in our views of public affairs to-day we shall ever cherish the memory of our joint action in this great cause, and tender them, in this separation, our most respectful and affectionate regards.

The Committee on Nominations reported the names of the following persons to constitute a Finance Committee, and they were elected: N. B. Spooner, Susan B. Anthony, Mary C. Sawyer, Caroline R. Putnam.

The Society then adjourned to meet at 7½ o'clock in the evening.

Evening Session.

The Society commenced its session at 7½ o'clock, John T. Sargent in the chair. After the transaction of some Society business, the discussion of the afternoon was resumed.

Mr. Parker (colored) took the platform. He said it afforded him great satisfaction to be present on this occasion. While hearing the discussion on the dissolution of this Society, his heart trembled with fear, because he was a black man. His color, he said, unfolded all his views upon that question.

Charles L. Remond (colored) of Salem, was the next speaker. The third article of the Constitution was not realized, viz: the elevation of the free people of color. The class that came within that denomination number nearly five millions. It was not necessary to work such a man under the lash or to distranchise him in order to make him a slave. It was necessary to remove prejudice against the negro in order to make him free. What is true of our country to-day is as true as it was years ago. He wished the day to come when the question of color would be discarded—when men will be regarded on account of their virtues and intelligence instead of their complexion. When Andrew Johnson said that this Government was a "white man's Government," he was echoing the Judge Taney doctrine that the black man has no rights that a white man is bound to respect. Public sentiment denies to the black man his inalienable rights. This subject is a prolific one. He only wished to say that if there was no higher or holier object in the world for this Society to entertain, it was that one of laboring to elevate the black man. If it were possible to change the complexion of the leading Abolitionists to black, they would be in favor of continuing the Anti-Slavery Society. Will those who believe in anti-slavery be willing to go the whole alphabet of the negro's rights? Let us see if they will be true to their principles. The whole prejudice against color is all moonshine, as it also is against intermarriage. The moment a man becomes amenable to the law he should be enfranchised, and upon the same principles that white men are.

Mr. Alcott spoke of the method by which great good could be accomplished. The "Convention," he said, was an American institution, originated by Mr. Garrison. But it has done its work. Lyceum lectures were well enough in their place; but in his judgment it would not do to depend upon these for the dissemination of truth. A living way is necessary to accomplish our object. The parlor and the drawing-room are free for the discussion of live questions. These lie at the core and heart of human life; and hence he would seek a more humane and American way to discuss and create an interest upon this question of the great unaccomplished work. It was not a theoretical scheme, but a practical one. It has indeed already produced a public sentiment; and we cannot accomplish our end until a bridge is thrown across from one heart to another. New England knows the difference between eloquence and rhetoric.

Mr. Wright said that the resolution contained just one sentiment, and that sentiment was the question of negro suffrage. There were but five States in the Union that gave the right of suffrage to the negro. The resolution calls attention to the whole nation. Congress and the President will be governed by the public sentiment on this question. What is that sentiment? At the present time it is decidedly and unmistakably proscriptive. He had no hope in that direction. His only hope was in a renovation of the public sentiment. Sympathy must be extended to the negroes of the whole country. He believed that the question involved the government of the civilized world; and that if our country was destroyed it would be by the ballot instead of the bullet. The question of suffrage must be discussed earnestly and frequently. It is perfectly horrible to reflect upon the fact, that while the ballot is the symbol of sovereignty, the reeling sot has the privilege of shaping the destinies of a people, simply because he is a white and not a woman; while on the other hand a man with a black skin, yet intelligent, is denied the right of the ballot-box.

Col. Daniels, of Wisconsin, was the next speaker. He was introduced to the audience as the person who was instrumental in releasing Sherman M. Booth from the bastile in Milwaukee, imprisoned under the administration of James Buchanan on the charge of rescuing a fugitive slave, the property of one Grover. Col. Daniels commenced by referring to the subject of negro suffrage, and remarked that the people of the West, to the slopes of the Rocky Mountains, looked to Massachusetts for vitality on all humane subjects. The people of the West needed the influences of the Anti-Slavery Society, for they were forming just such organizations for the accomplishment of the great work of giving suffrage to the negro. He excused his State from opposing the negro suffrage law, and charged its defect to the manipulations of the Republican party. In the soil of the West you can plant ideas and by and by you will reap a great harvest. Col. Daniels quoted from Senator Howe's late speech in the Senate on reconstruction, to show that the policy of the Government was to reduce the freedmen to a state of slavery.

That gentleman was not ready to adopt the expedient of smoothing down the animosities and relentless hate of a minority under the Government. The proposition is to clothe all on the rebel side of the dividing gulf with power and to deny it to nearly all upon this side. This is to make your enemies that controlling, irresponsible majority, and to make your friends that helpless and hopeless minority. Reconstruction without giving suffrage to the negro is to put the mill into the exclusive possession of pardoned traitors, and to throw all truth and loyalty into the hopper. If there is any practice which Christianity condemns, it is slavery. But fling pardons to the traitors; build their altars to them, if you will, but do not sacrifice men on those altars any longer. We are told that "slavery is abolished," as if now there was no more danger to be apprehended from the abuse of power. Yes, by the ordinance of emancipation three million people have been freed from the slave pens and taken from the auction-blocks. They have been redeemed from the kingdom of chattelism, but they have not been placed in the republic of man. Let us withhold our boasting for the present. Who does not see that if the freedmen are placed under the political control of that white population, emancipation has only transferred them from the individuals who formerly owned them to a close corporation composed of the same persons? and what use is to be made of them then? They mean, in spite of emancipation, to monopolize still the labor of the freedmen and to control its wages. To that end it is told that they shall not come to the polls. Let the nation demand justice—not the shadow but the body of it. In conclusion, Col. Daniels said it was a great mistake to think of dissolving the Society. The West was waking up in the matter of suffrage, and was forming its anti-slavery societies. The West responds to New England, and will soon be working side by side with Massachusetts. This Society has but to concentrate its energies. It don't matter if there is a little reaction. There are reactions in all revolutions. The negro must be lifted up upon the plane of right, intelligence and justice, and then we shall be worthy sons of the Pilgrim Fathers.

Theodore Tilton was the next speaker, and spoke quite eloquently in about the same strain as the previous speakers. He spoke in high praise of the remarks of Mr. Remond. It was only just that the negro be recognized upon an equality with the white man. The Hindoos, he said, have a vase, clear and spotless when looked at, but when the wine is poured into it beautiful pictures develop themselves. It was so with the negro. Give him his rights and the ballot, and then will his virtues shine out. The belief upon which we found our faith is that as there is one Father in heaven, there is one common brotherhood upon earth. Mr. Tilton offered a resolution expressive of his views upon the subject:

Resolved, That we repeat with renewed emphasis our former and habitual testimony against the prevailing prejudice against color in the South which is to-day the most potent obstacle in the way of procuring justice to the oppressed classes of the South; and we indignantly brand this prejudice as unworthy both of Democracy and of human nature.

Mr. Phillips read the following, being an amendment proposed by the Reconstruction Committee:

"Congress shall have the power to make all laws necessary and proper to secure to all citizens of the United States in every State the same political rights and privileges; and to all persons in every State equal protection in the enjoyment of life, liberty and property."

He said that this amendment looked to the Union as controlling and disposing of the question of suffrage, and he hailed it as an auspicious omen. The question would not, by it, be settled in Cnarleston, but at Washington. The Union ought to know its own citizens as the substructure of the Government. He looked upon the like of this question as whether the President was to be watched as an ally or an opponent of the friends of liberty. The only hope of this question is in delay; and if the door can be shut against the South, the waking up in the North would result in settling reconstruction on a safe basis; and finally drive the commercial people into the belief that reconstruction is impossible without suffrage to the negro. He hailed it as a bad omen that in the Boston newspapers this morning it was announced that Mr. Fessenden had said that there was no breach between Congress and the President. We can heal and salve over the sore, but in reality the South has not released its hold upon Andrew Johnson, any more than it did under the Texas excitement. We found the question snapped upon us; and now the velvet hand will show itself if our friends are not on their guard. As Abolitionists, we have something to do. We keep the eye of Congress resting upon us. The President is trying to settle permanently the troubles of the country while robbing five millions of men of their votes; and this unconquerable prejudice against the black race will be the source of future troubles. Mr. Phillips spoke of the hatred of the South—women as well as men—and argued that the next generation had got to be educated to love the people of the North and the negro. The problem of the nation is a solemn one. Slavery has eaten out the life of the nation. He did not believe that a disease that had corrupted the nation was going to be cured by a dozen battles. A harder battle is to be fought—that of wiping out anchored prejudice. That work which has been done for twenty years, yet remains before us. We are to do our duty as faithfully as we did thirty or forty years ago.

Speeches were made by a number of other persons; earnest appeals were made to support The Standard, the organ of the Society; and the meeting adjourned after passing the following resolutions:

Resolved, That we hail the Constitutional Amendment which the telegraph tells us has been reported by the Reconstruction Committee, authorizing Congress to regulate the political rights of United States Citizens—as a great step in the right direction and fitted to give a large measure of protection to the negro race, deserving the earnest support of every friend of that race and of free institutions, and indispensable to any safe settlement of the questions involved in the war.

Resolved, That in our opinion, the President of the United States has broken his solemn pledge to be the Moses for the Negro race; that he is now betraying the cause of Liberty and the loyal North; that his course since his elevation to the Presidency deserves the severest rebuke—should be watched by every friend of Liberty, and that he should be held up as in position if not by intention, the enemy of impartial Liberty.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1866.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION.

NO STATE SHALL MAKE ANY DISTINCTION IN CIVIL RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES AMONG THE NATURALIZED CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES RESIDING WITHIN ITS LIMITS, OR AMONG PERSONS BORN ON ITS SOIL OF PARENTS PERMANENTLY RESIDENT THERE, ON ACCOUNT OF RACE, COLOR, OR DESCENT.

The Annual Meeting of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society will be held in the Assembly Building on Fifth day, the 8th inst., at 3½ o'clock p.m. G. M. S. P. Jones, Secy.

THE BOSTON MEETINGS.

To the Abolitionists and their cause, the last was a most eventful week. Two meetings of immense significance were held in Boston, besides the Annual Subscription Festival, and the results were most gratifying to nearly all who bore part in them. Our excellent Boston correspondent sums up the proceedings so clearly as to make any word of ours unnecessary. And besides, the Reports, so full and able, are their own sufficient commentary. As will be seen, all the machinery is to remain in full force and effect, with fields almost immeasurable yet to be reaped and white everywhere to the harvest. The President shows daily more and more that he is not only not master of the situation, but that he does not comprehend it. Congress dares not or does not approach the emergency. The Republican party, with very few exceptions, seems desirous only to retain power and place. The Freedmen's Bureau is apparently the supple tool of the Executive. Gen. Saxton, and such as he, unwilling to obey its unjust behests, are removed. The Managers of the Freedmen's Aid Societies evidently must be born again before they will see that justice more than generosity is the grace now most needed. That however beautiful is charity, the best way to help all kinds of poverty, whether of purse, of political rights, of educational, religious, or any other good, is to place the dependent in a position to help themselves. Especially is this true of the freedmen, who are only poor because we have robbed them through seven of their generations, and still rob them, and as a government seem determined to persist in robbing them. The press, almost without exception, goes to market with what wares will sell, regardless of country or rights of man. The pulpit, as ever, sits watchful of the popular breezes. The church, as a body, is unknown as an energy or power. And hearts of men who never quailed before, "are failing them for fear, and for looking after those things that are to come!" In such an hour, and for the sake of all these, as well as for our millions of still enthralled colored people, who will not rejoice to see all our moral enginery still in vigorous, resistless operation? Neither the church, the pulpit, the press, the Freedmen's Aid Commissions, nor the Bureau, the political parties, Congress, nor the President have yet spoken emphatically, still less *authoritatively*, the word Justice to those on behalf of whom the land has been so long scourged.

The danger now is that the nation will lose the best results of a long and bloody war, by a false reconstruction, in disregard of justice. Let not Abolitionists be also self-shorn of the sublime results of their great moral conflict, by too soon abandoning it to unconsecrated hands, or withdrawing or withholding the means to prosecute the strife to a full and perfect triumph.

We send forth to-day a large edition of the Standard, hoping by it to awaken new interest in its behalf, as well as for the great cause to which it has been so long devoted.

The Governor of South Carolina has addressed a letter to the President, strongly urging the transfer of all the lands now in possession of negroes to the late owners of said lands.

It is said to be true that Mrs. Robert Lee is bringing the influence of many leading men of Virginia and the South to bear upon the President in favor of the restoration to her of the princely Arlington estate, and there are some of the opinion that she may be successful.

Treasurer's Report.—The Report of the Treasurer of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society was promised, but has failed to reach us. A private note says there is a balance in favor of about $275.

Our Boston Correspondence.

Boston, January 29, 1866.

Last week, as you may suppose, was a time of intense interest to the Abolitionists of this region, since three important meetings were held here in relation to their cause, namely, a meeting, Wednesday, forenoon and afternoon, of the American Anti-Slavery Society—on the evening of the same day, the Annual Subscription Festival which the ladies of the Society have been accustomed to hold near the beginning of each year—and, on Thursday (day and evening) a meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

Of the first of these—presuming that an official account of its proceedings has been already put into your hands—I need not particularly speak. Its two sessions were full of interest and practical value; its resolutions were a faithful expression of what our times demand from men and women who wish to live in a free country; and its discussions were adapted at once to enlighten those who suppose our crisis already successfully passed, and to stimulate to the needful labors and sacrifices those who understand that the cause of freedom is yet imperilled.

The Festival was, as always, a refreshing and delightful occasion. We welcomed many of the old friends whose presence has graced and cheered this celebration since its first establishment; we missed some who have been wont, in former years, to prize the Festival, and bring their offerings to it; and we joyfully greeted some new comers, pressing forward with faith and zeal to take part in the Anti-Slavery work that still remains to be done. Acceptable music from the great organ was given us at intervals by Mrs. Frohock, and two young ladies sang duets very skillfully; and pleasant brief addresses were also made by Wendell Phillips and Theodore Tilton, of New York; but most of the time, as usual on these occasions, was spent in social conversation, the greetings of old friends, the formation of new acquaintances, and the interchange of thought and feeling respecting public and private matters. Considered merely as a social gathering composed of the choicest materials, there is no more delightful assembly in our Boston year than that which comes together as "The Anti-Slavery Subscription Festival;" but, combining the useful with the pleasant, the lady managers sit, all the evening, at the receipt of custom, and the assembled friends give, according to their means, to aid the work of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and keep its Standard floating. The precise amount collected I have not heard; but I presume it to be somewhere between fifteen hundred and two thousand dollars.

On Thursday morning the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society assembled in the Melodeon, the President, Edmund Quincy, in the chair. Mr. Quincy read a valedictory address, written on the assumption that this meeting was to witness the dissolution of the Society, and speaking of the United States as a nation "in which no slavery exists." At its close Mr. Garrison read an address founded on similar ideas and anticipations. He thought that there had been a total abolition of slavery throughout the United States; that "constitutionally" there is no slave left; that an Anti-Slavery Society is uncalled for when personal liberty has been "proclaimed" to all the inhabitants of the land; that the Abolitionists are no longer separate from the great mass of the people, the millions having so "come up to them" that the most radical Abolitionist does not now occupy an unpopular position; that those who have heretofore been foremost in the conflict with slavery can now have general cooperation from the people in what remains to be done; and that an actual and sufficient reason for the dissolution of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society was that no more Anti-Slavery work is needed. He closed by moving that the Society be now dissolved.

The meeting listened to these two addresses with respectful attention which the long and zealous labors of their authors in the cause of freedom deserved; but the dead silence which followed both was a clear indication that the members of the Society did not share the opinions thus announced, did not see the propriety of discontinuing anti-slavery labor, and did not sympathize with the plan of pulling down, either literally or figuratively, the anti-slavery Standard.

The motion being for an immediate dissolution of the Society, Wendell Phillips came forward and addressed the audience in reference to the question whether enough anti-slavery work had been accomplished "beyond contingency" to justify the Abolitionists in disbanding. I trust you may have a full report of his long and admirable speech, as well as of the written addresses to which it was a reply; but, in case this should not be sent, I will briefly indicate the purport of two of its main points.

Mr. Phillips pointed out, from the bad faith shown by the Southern people in breaking the great "Missouri Compromise," how unfounded was the expectation that they would now show either fair play to the North or justice to the negroes. Unrepentant in character and unsubdued in spirit, intensely hating both their victorious opponent and the auxiliary black force that finally gave him victory, desirous to reestablish that particular form of servitude which has been unsettled by the war, but resolved, at any rate, to keep the colored people an inferior and subordinate class, they will of course use their utmost efforts to maintain and perpetuate the tyranny which they have hitherto carried on over the blacks; and the Constitutional Amendment itself gives them one great advantage in prosecuting this nefarious plan, since its terms plainly concede that slavery and involuntary servitude may be used "as a punishment for crime." One at least of the Southern States has already taken advantage of this phraseology, assigning servitude for various terms of years, and also "for life," to different specified offences when committed by negroes. Such servitude for life, Mr. Phillips said, is as much slavery as anything we have tried to abolish.

This speech, both at various points throughout its course, and at its close, received the hearty applause of the audience.

Mr. Garrison rose to reply. He commenced by saying that the purport of Mr. Phillips's speech appeared to be that its author was the friend of the blacks, and he [Mr. Garrison] recreant to their cause. Cries of "No, No, No, No," from the audience, showed their conviction that no such imputation was either intended or made. Mr. Garrison proceeded in an excited manner to criticize the speech of Mr. Phillips, making a representation of its purport which was disclaimed by its author on the spot, and which seemed to the great mass of the audience a gross perversion, alike of its terms and its meaning.

Mr. Garrison's own judgment of the present situation was that the Anti-Slavery work is done; that the parties and sects, now, are all with the Abolitionists: and that the organization, distinctively, of anti-slavery people is now even less needed than the fifth wheel to a coach. This speech also was received in silence by the audience.

Rev. Samuel May, Jr., then offered a series of resolutions expressing the reasons why he thought a continuance of the Society unnecessary. When he came to this phrase (either in the resolutions or in his speech urging their adoption)—"we have brought the nation up to our platform"—a voice from the audience asked, "Are there twenty States fully up to the Anti-Slavery platform?" To this question I heard no reply.

Several persons were urgent to have the question of continuance or dissolution taken in the morning session. But so many wished to speak upon it, and the audience were so desirous to hear, that an adjournment was made, on the understanding that the question should be taken about the middle of the afternoon. Mr. Earle (formerly of Worcester), in the midst of whose remarks the adjournment was interposed, made a very admirable speech showing the insufficiency of "a governmental parchment" to secure freedom to the blacks of the South, while an immense white majority in the same region were adverse to such freedom.

After brief speeches by several persons on each side of the question, James N. Buffum and others favoring a dissolution of the Society, and Abby Kelley Foster and others opposing it, the question was taken, and a very large majority voted—*Not* to dissolve the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

A Committee was then appointed to nominate officers for the coming year, and during its absence the business of the meeting went on. By unanimous vote, a resolution was passed giving the thanks of the Society to its late President and Board of Managers; and after more speaking, and the appointment and action of a Finance Committee, the Society adjourned until the evening.

Excellent speeches were made, during both the afternoon and evening sessions, by Theodore Tilton of New York. He spoke ably on various branches of the great subject, and asked the cooperation of the Society, and of all friends of freedom and reform, in a movement shortly to be commenced in New York for the advocacy of Universal Suffrage. The idea of urging the claims of women to the ballot at the present time found some strong advocates in the meeting, while others thought that the claims of the freedmen might better be settled first.

Among the speakers in the evening were Loring Moody, Charles Lenox Remond, A. Bronson Alcott, Henry C. Wright, Mr. Daniels of Wisconsin, Mrs. Lucy Stone and Wendell Phillips. The resolutions which had been brought before the Society at different times were adopted, the officers reported by the Nominating Committee were chosen, and the Society adjourned, after a series of meetings full of spirit and interest, with the conviction that active effort and untiring vigilance are the things needed for the coming year.

North.

PERSONAL.

Senator Dixon disclaims having had anything to do with the publication of the Associated Press dispatcht containing an account of his conversation with the President. He gives out that he merely listened to what the President had to say, and that the President alone is responsible for the publication of the dispatch.

The *Times* says: Virginia is again suffering under the terrible rhetorical inflictions of Henry A. Wise. The Richmond papers come to us, as of yore, laden with his interminable speeches. We had just got through the attempt to read one on behalf of some local charity when another came to hand, which he has just delivered before the "Mayor's Court" upon some petty liquor case. We perused it until he exclaimed:

"But, sir, Virginia is now, as she ever has been, my sovereign. You, sir, are the *pater civitatis*. We have the *pater familias*, the *pater civitatis*. O, God! where is the *parens patriæ*?"

The *Times* hopes to be pardoned for not quoting more of the speech at once.

A novel incident occurred on Tuesday before the Committee on Freedmen's Affairs. Among others, Gov. Aiken of South Carolina gave the South-side view of the condition of things in his State, reflecting severely upon the freedmen, and indulging in much of the flippant prejudice against the negro. He was followed by an "intelligent contraband," just arrived here from Charleston, who astonished the Committee by a straightforward statement of facts concerning his race in the South, and the animus of the reconstructed whites toward the negro. His narrative inspired all hearers with its truthfulness, and his recital of acts of cruelty evidently made a deep impression upon the Committee. It was admitted by all that Gov. Aiken had found more than a match in the colored witness. He urged upon the Committee not to change the Senate bill, enlarging the power of the Freedmen's Bureau.

Frederick Douglass delivered a lecture on "The Assassination and its Lessons" to a crowded house at the Academy of Music, Brooklyn, last evening. No colored man was ever admitted to lecture there before. Theodore Tilton occupied the chair, and made a brief introduction, explaining the course of the directors of the Academy preparatory to the appearance of Mr. Douglass. The vote of the board on allowing him to speak there, at last meeting, stood 11 for to 5 against. The lecture was an exhaustive defence of the colored people of the South, and a strong appeal in behalf of their claim to the franchise. He criticized the course of the President in reference to reconstruction, and charged him with breaking faith with the colored people, who had been the friends of the Government in its extremity. The nation called in the negro to save it, and if we failed to do them justice, there was certainly a vengeance in store for a country so ungrateful and so false. Mr. Douglass spoke for about two hours, and several passages in his lecture were enthusiastically applauded. Mr. Tilton, on being called on, made a few remarks, indorsing Mr. Douglass, and retired amid immense cheering, waving of hats, handkerchiefs, etc.

THE PRESIDENT AND JEFF. DAVIS.

LETTER FROM EX-PRESIDENT BURNET, OF TEXAS.

The New Orleans *Picayune* publishes a batch of documents furnished it by Judge David E. Burnet, of Texas, who visited Washington recently to intercede for the pardon of Jeff. Davis. The following letter gives the result of his mission:

New Orleans, Thursday, Jan. 11.

Having been requested by the ladies of New Orleans to present their two memorials in behalf of the late Chief Magistrate of the Confederate States, Jefferson Davis, to the President of the United States, it seems proper to report my doings before arriving in Texas, from whence my original commission proceeded.

I distrust my memory too much to venture on a detail of conversations with the President. Entire accuracy could not be expected, and a slight deviation would be objectionable. I will submit the several notes which accompanied the presentation of petitions in consecutive order.

In regard to the future of Mr. Davis the President, of course, could give no definitive opinion. That Mr. Davis will be tried by a civil court appears to have been a foregone conclusion; that he will eventually be pardoned—if, indeed, a conviction shall be had—and a general amnesty proclaimed, to the grievous disappointment of the Jacobinical cliques, seems the most probable finale to the most calamitous war that ever threw a pall of gloom over a great people. The few ultra Radicals who still thirst for blood are scattered, like subsiding leprous spots, over the body politic; but, happily, they are few in number, and powerless for mischief. Retaining much of their original virus, they have lost the faculty of propagation. There pervades the North a very general feeling of sympathy for the suffering South, and a desire for a full and cordial reunion. This is emphatically true of the great city of New York. A general amnesty would throw a halo around the present Administration which could not be obscured by the foul exhalations that still mark the presence of an unholy fanaticism, whether it be feigned or fact.

It is observable that this fanaticism is usually accompanied with a professed desire for the inauguration of negro suffrage. That the leading advocates of this policy are actuated more by a malignant hatred to the South, than by any honest opinion of resulting benefit to the country—if such, indeed, can possibly be entertained—is apparent to the slightest inquiry.

The right of suffrage is not a natural right. It is purely conventional, and to be adjusted as each society of men shall deem conclusive to its own happiness. It is in all good sense sufficiently diffused already, when thousands and tens of thousands of votes are notoriously bought and sold, and thus concentrated in the hands of a few corrupt politicians at every general election. That the admission of the negro to the ballot-box, the source of our most important official appointments, could advance the public good in any conceivable form, no rational man, of decent intelligence, can believe. He who so pretends, is either self-deceived by a weak fancy, or is essaying to deceive others. Such prostitution of the ballot-box, which was designed to be the chief conservative element of the Government, would bring that primary organ into a contempt that could not fail to throw its palsying influence over the entire political being that tolerates it. A government in contempt is well nigh its dissolution.

I believe the South may rely very confidently upon the wisdom and firm patriotism of President Johnson. That he desires an early and cordial reunion of all the States is abundantly manifest. That his virulent Jacobinical enemies in either House of Congress will be disappointed of their malevolent purposes, is my confident hope and most profound aspiration.

David G. Burnet.

"Discipline for Darkies."—The London correspondent of the N. Y. *Times*, under date Jan. 18th, sends the following strictly American ideas. President Johnson, too, will see his definition of colored liberty exactly reproduced, with slight variation of language:

"An army of negroes, under strict military discipline, armed with ploughs for cannon and hoes for guns, with light corps for pickers, is the army to conquer England with, and give fits to Bombay. In such a war there is money to make, not lose; and the country which has land, labor, coal and iron in the greatest quantity, must conquer. I commend this view of the case to the generals fit to command an army of industry, and I believe that your whole Southern question can be settled, the national debt paid, and the highest ambition satisfied, by such organization. Years ago, I talked this matter all over at the South, not with indolent Southerners, but smart Yankees, who carried on the war in those days by going down the Mississippi, marrying any willing widow who owned a thousand acres of land and a hundred negroes, and then making cotton like thunder. In those days a clever Yankee would get more work and cotton out of a gang of negroes than the best or worst Southerner extant. I asked one of them how he did it. 'Discipline!' said he, spitting furiously into the river, 'discipline is what does it. The only way with the darkies is to bring them right up to military discipline; then everything goes like clock-work.' *Freedmen, of course, must be free, but they need not be more free than soldiers—and soldiers, in this country, are soundly flogged if they do not obey orders, and shot if they are deserters.* I have always been a bit of a socialist, and now I go for a black army of industry of the largest possible dimensions, *and a conscription if necessary.*"

TWO OPINIONS OF TENNESSEE.

The *Times* correspondent, writing from Memphis, under date Jan. 13, says:

"In all my travels, North, South, East and West, I have seen no more hospitable or Christian people than the people of Tennessee. The East Tennesseeans, and poor in purse most of them are, are lion-hearted, and will, to use a profane expression, go to hell to serve an honest man. In the middle and western sections many of them are enormously wealthy. There are millionaires in most of the counties, while the Overtons, the Hardins, the Acklins and some others meander life's turbid stream in a five-million car. Who has not heard of the hospitality of Gen. Hardin, whose houses are palaces and whose lands are parks, and whose doors are always open to the stranger—who entertained Charles Sumner a number of years ago, in common with other strangers, and against the feelings of many prominent Tennesseeans? Who has not heard of Mrs. James K. Polk, not great because she is the widow of a President, but great because she is good, and good because God made her so? I could mention many such names. In fact, the men and women of Tennessee are true men and women, and that's singing their praise in the most unostentatiously lofty strains. During the war there was that lack of littleness in Middle Tennessee which characterized many other sections of the country. No soldiers were better cared for than the eight hundred wounded patriots who were left on the bleak battle-field of Franklin. The ladies of Franklin, God bless them, fed and provided for friend and foe. Who fed the three thousand Union prisoners taken at the battle of Stone River some three years ago?—the ladies of Shelbyville, Tenn. But I will not wander too far—I will only reiterate, that in all my rangings, from Maine to Texas, I have never met a more refined, generous, charitable, Christian people than the people of Middle Tennessee."

The Governor of the State evidently does not find there such a "*Paradise Regained*"—or never lost—as above described, for he writes to Hon. Schuyler Colfax, under date Jan. 15, as follows. He urged the admission of the Tennessee delegates to Congress but finally added:

"If the removal of the Federal troops from Tennessee must necessarily follow upon the admission of our Congressional delegation to their seats, why, then, and in that case, the loyal men of Tennessee beg to be without representatives in Congress. But our members can be admitted, and a military force retained sufficient to govern and control the rebellious. I tell you, and through you, all whom it may concern, that without a law to disfranchise rebels, and a force to carry out the provisions of that law, this State will pass into the hands of the rebels, and a terrible state of affairs is bound to follow. Union men will be driven from the State, forced to sacrifice what they have, and seek homes elsewhere. And yet, Tennessee is in a much better condition than any of the other revolted States, and affords a stronger loyal population.

"Those who suppose the South is 'reconstructed,' and that her people cheerfully accept the results of the war, are fearfully deceived! The whole South is full of the spirit of rebellion, and the people are growing more bitter and insolent every day. Rebel newspapers are springing up all over the South, and spenking out in terms of bitterness and reproach against the Government of the United States. These papers lead the people, and at the same time reflect their sentimepts and feelings. Of the *twenty-one* papers in Tennessee, *fourteen* are decidedly rebel, outspoken and undisguised, some of them pretending to acquiesce in the existing state of affairs. In all the vacancies occurring in our Legislature, even with our Franchise Law in force, rebels are invariably returned, and in some instances rebel officers, *limping* from wounds received in battle, fighting against the United States forces! And yet, I tell you that Tennessee is in a better condition than any other revolted State.

"Others will give you a more favorable account. I cannot in justice to myself and the truth. I think I know the Southern people. I have lived 58 years in the South, of *choice*, and two at the North, of *necessity*.

I have the honor to be, very truly, etc

Miscellaneous Department.

A SIMPLE TALE.

He loved her long through grief and pain,
As long she love I another.
Life was to him her sole domain;
He was to her a brother.

When well of love he urged and spake,
Tears on her eyelids glistened;
The heart his wooing strove to wake
Forsook him while she listened.

Thus in a mutual two-fold search
Each decayed the other;
She was his wealth, his law, his church;
He was to her a brother.

God took him in his early years,
Ere half his youth had flowered.
Then she beheld him through her tears
With the heart's saints embowered.

Time on her heart's high daring smiled,
And blooming bridal made her,
And, clinging to a three-hours' child,
In the low furrow laid her.

But to my sight doth crowned appear
Each faithful, fond endeavor;
Ralph called her his one happy year,
And Herbert his forever.

—*From Mrs. Howe's "Later Lyrics."*

SOME OF THE HEROES AND MARTYRS OF THE WAR.

[The following is the concluding portion of an article in *Macmillan's Magazine* (London) entitled "Peace on Earth," by TOM HUGHES.]

* * * * * *

AND now for my second point—the example set by the men of birth, wealth, and high position. Here, too, I feel sure that a few simple facts, taken at hazard from the mass which I have under my hand, will be more than enough to satisfy every just and generous man amongst my countrymen; and I am proud to believe that, whatever our prejudices may be, there are few indeed amongst us to whom such an appeal will be made in vain.

I have said above that the mass of the materials is large; I might have said unmanageable. It is, indeed, impossible to take more than an example here and there, and to bring these out as clearly as one can in the limits of an article. Let me take as mine a family or two, with some one or more of whose members I have the honor of friendship or acquaintance. And first, that of J. Russell Lowell, the man to whose works I owe more, personally, than to those of any other American. It would be hard to find a nobler record. The young men of this stock seem to have been all of high mark, distinguished specially for intellectual power and attainments. Surely the sickle of war has never been put more unsparingly into any field! First in order comes Willie Putnam, age 21, the sole surviving son of Lowell's sister, a boy of the highest culture and promise, mortally wounded at Ball's Bluff, in October, 1861, in the first month of the war, while in the act of going to the help of a wounded companion. At the same bitter fight his cousin, James Jackson Lowell, aged 24, was badly hurt; but, after a short absence to recruit, joined his regiment again, and fell on June 30th, 1862. "Tell my father I was dressing the line of my company when I was hit," was his last message home. He had been first in his year at Harvard, and was taking private pupils in the law school when the war broke out. Warren Russell fell at Bull's Run in August, 1862. Many of us here may remember the account, which was reprinted in the *Times* and other papers, of the presentation of colors to the 2d Massachusetts Infantry by Mr. Motley, at Boston, in the summer of 1861. It attracted special notice from the fact that the author of the "History of the Dutch Republic" had been so lately living amongst us, and was so well known and liked here. The group of officers who received these colors were the very *jeunesse dorée* of Massachusetts—Quincy, Dwight, Abbot, Robeson, Russell, Shaw, Gordon, Savage, Perkins. Such a roll will speak volumes to all who have any acquaintance with New England history. Those colors have come home riddled, tattered, blackened; but five-sixths of the young officers have given their lives for them, and of the 1,000 rank and file who then surrounded them, scarcely 150 survive. This by the way. I refer to the muster, because Robert Shaw was amongst those officers—a name already honored in these pages, and another nephew of Lowell's. Shaw's sister married Charles Lowell, of whom more presently. We all know how Robert Shaw, after two years' gallant service, accepted the command of the first black regiment raised in Massachusetts (the 54th); how he led them in the operations before Charleston, and was buried with his "niggers" in the pit under Fort Wagner—the grandest sepulture earned by any soldier of this century. By his side fought and died Cabot Russell, the third of Lowell's nephews, then a captain of a black company. Stephen George Perkins, another nephew, was killed at Ceder Creek; and Francis Dutton Russell at one of the innumerable Virginia battles.

I pass to the last on the list, and the most remarkable. Charles Russell Lowell, the only brother of the James who died "dressing his line," was also the first scholar of his year (1854) at Harvard. He had visited Europe for health, and made long riding tours in Spain and Algeria, where he became a consummate horseman. On the day after the 6th Massachusetts were fired on in Baltimore streets, Charles Lowell heard of it, and started by the next train to Washington, passing through Baltimore. All communication between the two cities was suspended, but he arrived on foot at Washington in forty-eight hours. In these first days of confusion he became agent for Massachusetts at Washington, and brought order out of chaos for his own State before joining the army. His powers of command and organization gained him rapid promotion. He served with distinction in the Peninsula campaigns of McClellan, and, after Antietam, was selected to carry the captured standards to Washington. He raised a second cavalry regiment at home in the winter of 1862. He was placed in command of the cavalry force which protected Washington during the dark days of 1863. In Sheridan's brilliant campaign of 1864, he commanded the cavalry brigade, of four regular regiments, and the 2d Massachusetts Volunteer Cavalry. He had thirteen horses shot under him before the battle of Cedar Creek, on October 19th; was badly wounded early in that day, and lifted on to his fourteenth horse to lead the final charge, so faint that he had to give his orders in a whisper. Urged by those round him to leave the field, he pressed on to the critical point of attack; and himself led the last charge which ended one of the most obstinate battles of the war. It is the death of this nephew which wrung from his uncle the lines which occur in one of the last "Biglow Papers," published in one of the last winter's numbers of the *Atlantic Magazine*—

"Wut's words to them whose faith and truth
On War's red techstone rang true metal;
Who ventured life, an' love, an' youth,
For the great prize o' deth in battle?
To him who, deadly hurt, agen
Flashed on afore the charge's thunder,
Tippin' with fire the bolt of men
That rived the rebel line asunder?

"Ta'n't right to hev the young go fust,
All throbbin' full o' gifts and graces,
Leaving life's paupers dry as dust
To try and make b'lieve till their places;
Nothin' tells us wut we miss;
Ther's gaps our lives can't never say in,
An' that world seems so fur from this,
Lef' for us loafers to grow gray in."

He died next day of his wounds, leaving a widow of twenty, himself not thirty. The *Gazette*, in which his commission as general was published, did not reach the army till after his death. Sheridan, with the generosity which most of the great Northern captains have shown, declared that the country could better have spared himself, and that there was no one quality of a soldier which he could have wished added to Charles Lowell.

My first example, then, gives us one family, in which there was no soldier in 1860, losing eight young men under thirty in little more than three years' fighting.

I have mentioned the name of Motley above. Let us see how it fared with his circle. He has assured me more than once, that of his own immediate family there were fewer than the average in the ranks; but he had at least five near relatives serving—three Lothrops, one of whom was killed in Louisiana; Major Motley, badly wounded in Virginia early in 1864; and Major Stackpole, another highly distinguished graduate of Harvard, who served through the whole war and has now resumed his practice as a barrister. Miss Motley married Captain Ives, a gentleman of fortune in Rhode Island, who was travelling in Europe when the war broke out. He volunteered into the navy, commanded the Potomac flotilla, and accompanied Burnside's expedition to South Carolina, where he contracted the illness of which he has since died. His cousin Robert Ives, also a man of large fortune, volunteered into the army, and was killed at Antietam. I believe they were the two last men who bore the name of Ives in their State.

The name of Wadsworth is better known here than most American names in consequence of its English connection. The head of the family was a country gentleman living on his estate at Geneseo, in New York State, up to 1860, with a family of three sons and three daughters. At the news of the attack on the Union troops in Baltimore he instantly chartered a steamer, loaded her with provisions, and sent her up the Potomac—a most timely aid to the capital. He acted as aide-de-camp to McDowell, and was his right hand man in the Bull Run campaign, his "youngest as well as his oldest aide;" was made a general soon afterwards; and, after several campaigns, was placed in command at Washington. His reputation as an officer had now become such that at the beginning of the last campaign every corps commander of the Army of the Potomac applied to the War Department to have him with them as brigadier. He was killed in the Wilderness in the last advance on Richmond. His three sons have all served, the youngest having enlisted at sixteen. Thus every man in the family served; and the only married daughter is the widow of Colonel Montgomery Ritchie, one of two brothers, both of whom served with distinction, one to the sacrifice of his life by the same subtle disease which struck down Capt. Ives.

I could go to any length, for my acquaintance with Americans is large, and I scarcely know a man who has not lost some relative in the war. But, apart from one's own acquaintance, there is scarcely one of the famous Colonial and Revolutionary names which has not been represented. The Jays, Adamses, Schuylers, Livingstons, Van Rensselaers, have not failed their country in her second great need; and have fought well, and worked hard, though the present holders of these honored names, mostly quiet young men, have not had time to reach their ancestors' places. The bearers of great names, I take it, do not get such a start in the States as with us at home. A descendant (grandson, I believe) of Alexander Hamilton, however, became a general, while several of his cousins remained in lower ranks. Colonel Fletcher Webster, only surviving son of Daniel Webster, was killed in Virginia.

Perhaps the man who excited most the hopes and martial enthusiasm of Americans in the first month of the war was Maj. Theodore Winthrop, grandson of the famous Gov. John Winthrop, scholar, traveller, poet, athlete, who was killed at the disastrous battle of Great Bethel, June 10th, 1861. A son of Gen. Porter, who was distinguished in the last war with us, fell as a colonel in the spring campaign of 1864. Even the families famous, as yet, for wealth only have not shrunk from the fighting; one Astor, at least, and Cuttings, Schermerhorns, Lydigs, and others, having held their own in the volunteer ranks.

Or, let us come to names more familiar than any other transatlantic ones to us—the Boston group. Longfellow's young son (Charlie, as I hear all men call him) has managed to fight a campaign, and get badly hit in Louisiana, at an age when our boys are thinking of their freshman's term at Oxford. Oliver Wendell Holmes (junior), poet, artist, Greek scholar, virtuoso, has been twice—I was going to say killed—well, shot through the body and neck, and again in the heel; and, having fought through all to the end of the war, is again busy with brush and pen. Olmstead has fought, with mightier weapons than rifled cannon, at the head of the Sanitary Commission. Of four brothers Dwight, two were killed, and a third fought his way to general. Whittiers, Appletons, Lorings, Crowninshields, Dehons—but I will tax my readers' patience no longer with rolls of names which, perhaps, to most of them, will be names and nothing more! Let this last summing up of the work of men of birth and position in one State suffice: (I choose Massachusetts again, because, thanks to Gov. Andrew, we have more accurate returns as to her over here, than as to any other State). Since the declaration of war, 434 officers from Massachusetts have been killed—9 generals, 16 colonels, 17 lieutenant-colonels, 20 majors, 15 surgeons, 2 chaplains, 110 captains, and 245 lieutenants. Of these 35 general officers from that State, 10 only have escaped wounds.

Of all the living graduates of Harvard (the university of highest repute in America), one fifth, or, to be as accurate as possible, nineteen and some fraction per cent. have served with the army. At Yale College the percentage has been even higher. Conceive a struggle which should bring one in every five of men who have taken degrees at Oxford and Cambridge under fire, and which should call on us, besides our regular army, to keep on foot and recruit for three years a volunteer army five times as large as our present one!

Such plain facts and returns as these will, I am sure, convince the last sceptic—if there be one left amongst us at this Yule tide, 1865—that New England has not spared of her best blood in the great day of the Lord, under the burden and heat of which the whole North has reeled and staggered indeed, but without ever bating heart or hope, and always gaining fresh power, through three years of war which have seemed—nay, which have been—a life-time. In such crises time is not measured by years or days. The America which looked on paralyzed and doubtful, when John Brown prophesied all these things on his way to the scaffold, kissing a negro child as he passed along, while Stonewall Jackson and his pupils guarded the gibbet—the America of State sovereignty and Dred Scott law, in which the Gospel news meant avowedly "good will to *white* men," and Abolitionism was loathed as a vulgar and mischievous fanaticism—is as far behind us to-day for all practical purposes as the England of the Stuarts, or the France of the Regency. What this means, for the old world as well as for the new, I will not pause to consider. My estimate might raise smiles or provoke criticism amongst us, both of which (good as they are in right time and place) I am anxious here to avoid.

I prefer at parting to endeavor to put my readers in sympathy with the spirit, the heart, and conscience of the North, in the presence of their astounding success. I cannot do this better than by at glance at the Commemoration of the living and dead soldiers of the Harvard University. Commemoration Day at Harvard, in July, 1865, must indeed have stamped itself indelibly on the memories of all those sons of the first of American universities who were present at the gathering. To me, I own, even the meagre reports one got over here in the American papers were unspeakably touching. The irrepressible joy of a people delivered, after years of stern work and patient waiting, from an awful burden, almost too heavy for mortal shoulders to bear, tempered, as it was, by the tenderest sympathy for the families of the fallen, and a solemn turning to give glory and thanks with full heart to that God who giveth victory, and healeth wounded spirits, and standeth above His people as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land—the mingled cry of triumph, and agony, and trust, and love, which went up from the very heart of that meeting—must ever, to my mind, rank amongst the most noble, the most sublime pieces of history of the century in which we are living. Let the readers consider the following as compared with ordinary commemoration poetry. The first is the hymn written for the commemoration service by Robert Lowell:

"Thy work, O God, goes on in earth,
With shouts of war, and harvest songs:
A ready will is all our worth;
To Thee our Maker all belongs.

"Thanks for our great and dear, who knew
To lavish life great meeds to earn;
Our dead, our living, brave and true,
To each who served thee in his turn.

"Show us true life as in Thy Son;
Breathe through our flesh the Holy Ghost;
Then earth's strongholds are stormed and won;
Then man dies faithful at his post.

"They crowd behind us to this shade,
The youth who own the coming year;
Be never God, or land, betrayed,
By any son our Harvard rears!"

My second quotation shall be a stanza from the Commemoration Ode, by the best known member of the family, James Russell Lowell, author of the "Biglow Papers":

"Bow down, dear Land, for thou hast found release!
Thy God, in these distempered days,
Hath taught thee the sure wisdom of His ways,
And through thine enemies hath wrought thy peace,
Bow down in prayer and praise!
O Beautiful! my Country! ours once more!
Smoothing thy gold of war-dishevelled hair
O'er such sweet brows as never other wore,
And letting thy set lips,
Freed from wrath's pale eclipse,
The rosy edges of their smile lay bare,
What words divine of lover or of poet
Could tell our love and make these know it,
Among the nation's bright beyond compare?
What were our lives without thee?
What all our lives to save thee?
We reck not what we gave thee;
We will not dare to doubt thee;
But ask whatever else, and we will dare!"

Was ever truer, or braver, ring struck out of the metal of which English-speaking men are made? If so, I for one have yet to learn when, and where. And now, at this Christmas time, when their tremendous storm-cloud has broken up, and nothing but a light streak or two of vapor is to be seen in their heavens, let us seize this precious moment, never to recur again in their or our history, and, by graceful and loyal word and deed, show them that we honor, as it deserves, the work they have done for the world since the election of 1860, and can sympathize with their high hopes for the future of their continent with no jealousy or distrust, as brethren of the same stock, and children of the same Father.

COLLOQUIAL FALLACIES.

From the Saturday Review.

MOST people are disposed to think, in their inmost consciousness, that they can talk well under certain circumstances. Only unfortunately, in the majority of cases, those circumstances which are the fostering nurses of good conversation are never to be found except in more or less strict privacy. And, after all, a man must be a very poor creature indeed who cannot say things which they of his own household at least will take to be full of point and brilliance. The "petty tyrant of the fireside" can generally ensure both attention and applause for the oracular wisdom that it is his august pleasure to dispense. When the circle of listeners is enlarged, and family partiality or family servility ceases to work, he may be conscious that he is making no mark, except the mark of the bore. Still the man reflects that there are different classes of talkers; that there is one glory of the sun and another glory of the moon; and that, while some men shine brightest in society, there are others whom only an esoteric audience can appreciate or bring out to their best. Then there are others who, finding themselves unable to talk well, or perhaps even unable to talk at all among men, recover their own esteem by the conviction that they can talk agreeably and fluently to women. In the discussions of their own sex about books or politics or horses or wine, even though not devoid of knowledge or opinion, they are cursed with a tormenting dumbness that always prevents them from saying anything which is both worth saying in itself and precisely to the point as well. But among ladies they are unrivalled. They can make way with the very dullest and most unspeakably insipid of these enchanting creatures. At a slow dinner-party, or in the intervals of the dance, they prattle to their partners like a giant rejoicing to run his course. This is their grand arena. Other men may, if they will, discourse powerfully in the House of Commons, or in club bow-windows, or among theologians and scholars. But not for all their triumphs of the tongue would the genuine lady's man exchange his own skill and success. It must be admitted that talking to women is, as a rule, a much more difficult thing to do than talking to men. The majority alike of men and women are horribly vapid on nearly every subject but some one or two in which their own interests are centred. But women are more vapid than men, because they are not even supposed to feel any interest in most of the things which make the material of good conversation. With a man, one always has the common ground of the newspaper. The dullest of men can generally get fairly hold of the one idea set forth in a leading article, and this gives him a sort of impetus. Ladies, on the other hand, don't even get so much as this. And, in consequence of the conventional restraint put upon all their ideas and chances of acquiring ideas, they do not catch more than half the allusions in which, as distinguished from elaborate statements, good talk always abounds. The allusions have to be explained, with the same effect as decanting soda-water. Remembering all this, we are bound to confess that the pride of the man who can talk well to ladies is not unjust or exaggerated. The knack of making bricks without straw, of being able to go on talking about absolutely nothing, is one of the most admirable of social gifts. Perhaps, in the case of young ladies, at any rate, the boundary line between agreeable talk and adroit flirtation is not very accurately marked. A little spice of flirtation is a wonderful improvement to talk in the eyes of the average young lady of common life.

The most spurious, as well as the most pretentious, kind of good talker is the man who talks magazines. If anybody chooses to give his mind to it, this is a very easy road to a certain sort of conversational success—a fact which may account for its comparative popularity. It is an especially favorite method among college dons. The author of the *Student's Manual*, or somebody of the same stamp, assures every young man that, if he will only read five verses of the Greek Testament each morning after breakfast all through life, he will retain his hold at once of the niceties of the Greek tongue and of the verities of the Christian faith. On something like the same principle, a conversational don believes that half an hour spent religiously every afternoon in the magazine-room of the Union will eventually make a man the most successful talker of his age. Of course it is not enough to run your eye over the popular English magazines. All the world does this. It is in some of the French and German, and even American, periodicals that the finest veins are to be discovered. Here the ingenious and industrious explorer constantly "strikes ile," and of the very best quality. Foreign periodicals abound much more freely than our own in new views, astounding interpretations, outrageous rehabilitations, and overwhelming hypotheses. To advance one of these, with a few of what the author took for proofs and arguments, may establish a reputation for a whole evening. But then the process must be conducted with judgment. The subject has to be easily brought up, though some masters of the art prefer the bolder method of seizing an early pause in the conversation, and at once launching forth into the middle of things. It is very desirable, if possible, that the subject should be one on which the listeners know a little, but not too much. They are thus tempted to offer bits of criticism which the conversationalist, having got up his theme, demolishes in a most masterly manner. Of course, all this must be done gracefully and without assumption. The art of dissembling your art is as requisite in conversation as in anything else, and it is as useful in artificial as in really good conversation. But in spite of its temporary success, talk which is the result of special cram has no place in the true art. Men who cram themselves for talking purposes are like women who resort to the rouge-pot, and wear false hair. Both painted women and crammed men may be very pleasant people in their way. Society, perhaps, could not get on without them; and it is a great blunder to fly into a passion with the vanity which prompts a recourse to false pretences. Still, men who habitually let off magazines articles over wine, or in walks with their friends, should learn that they are not true talkers, any more than a copyist is an artist, or a translator of books a creative author.

A small class of men of a polemic turn of mind mistake disputation and argument for talk. They do not care for any conversation which does not somehow or other develop an issue, a position which is open to more than one view. A good talk to them is pretty nearly synonymous with a hot and close argumentation. They are like those mythical Americans who go through the world as roaring lions, seeking free fights. People, in their view, only meet for the sharp encounter of native wits. The quiet, easy flow of talk is a tame, dull waste of precious time that ought to have been spent in assertion and replication, in rejoinder and rebutter and surrebutter, in quick clenching and rapid refutation. A couple of people of this disputatious temper may prove as outrageous a nuisance as the most pompous conversational autocrat that ever lived and talked. It is highly proper to be anxious for truth. If you hear anybody say the thing that is not, or that in your opinion is not, and if you have a short and decisive confutation easily within reach, then it is well to lay on, and not to spare. But a sustained duel is a sheer vexation to calm overlookers. Instead of trusting that right may win, they sigh in vain for the descent of some just angel who should inflict upon the disputants the fate of the Kilkenny cats. As De Quincy says, in speaking of Dr. Parr's rudenesses in this direction, "mere good sense is sufficient, without any experience at all of high life, to point out the intolerable absurdity of allowing two angry champions to lock up and sequestrate, as it were, the whole social enjoyment of a large party, and compel them to sit, 'in sad civility,' witnesses of a contest which can interest the majority neither by its final object nor its management." Now and then, it is true, one meets a fool so hollow and so pretentious that it is impossible to resist the temptation of having a throw with him. But even in such a case as this, the execution ought to be swift and certain. If you can impose absolute silence on your fool, it may be worth while to spend a little time and trouble in dispatching him. But if he be one of those lively fools who can skip to and fro with the celerity and heartiness of that ignoble but tormenting insect which can leap a hundred times the length of its own body, who is no sooner expelled from one corner than he has entrenched himself in another, then it is much the better plan to leave him to disport at his ease. And though an encounter between a blockhead and a philosopher may, under certain conditions, be amusing and useful, an encounter between two philosophers in society is a distinct absurdity.

There is a peculiar form of the affectation of good talk especially prevalent in our own time. If one were engaged in classifying the popular fallacies about colloquial excellence, this might be called the Dark Lantern Fallacy. It consists in suddenly shooting down upon the conversation with a sharp, explosive sentence, which is uttered in a couple of seconds, but whose influence upon the talkers is much more enduring. This is very useful at times. To let a ray of light into a discussion by a keen paradox may be to do excellent service. But paradox may readily be carried too far. The knack is easily acquired, and this is in itself a presumption against it. The youngest undergraduate is now-a-days often master of the art of saying these pungent, half-true, and wholly exaggerated things. The prime secret of the art consists in being entirely without reverence. Of the men who have won reputations by these trenchant, far-shooting interpolations in talk, the most have earned their laurels by the simple trick of bringing something that most people look upon with respect or awe into juxtaposition with something else that is ludicrous and petty. This is amusing enough as far as it goes. The Philistines and reverential folks have so much of their own way in the world, that the occasional epigram which tempers their despotism cannot be anything but welcome. The worst of it is, that the applause which rewards the man who suddenly lets out a keen ray and then shuts his light up, lying subtly in wait for his next chance, is very likely to make him think a great deal better of himself that he is at all justified in doing. For six epigrams in an evening do not make a good talker. And men, or rather lads, of this stamp—for men find the comparative worthlessness of the knack—are apt to forget the difference between a keen epigram, a vigorous antithesis, or a hissing paradox, on the one hand, and mere pertness and flippancy on the other. It would take a very long time to classify all the varieties of good talk, elevated or merely colloquial. Dr. Johnson was a good talker in one way, and Coleridge in another. Their styles are wide as the poles asunder. But each has characteristic merit in his style, and between them lie all sorts of shades and degrees. A man ought to be quite catholic in his views about good conversation, only this does not prevent him from seeing that in society there is a great deal of dull, stupid, or pert mimicry of talk. Against display of vanity in this shape everybody should earnestly set his face. It is one of the most annoying of the minor social sins.

ANECDOTES OF GEN. JACKSON.

IT was a bright November morning in 1848, when I left Nashville, Tenn., in company with Paul Ferris, a young lawyer, for a visit to the Hermitage, where the remains of Gen. Jackson rested, and which was then the residence of his adopted son, Andrew Jackson, Jr. We drove rapidly over to Lebanon turnpike some dozen miles, when we came in sight of the undulating fields in which the General's old home was nestled.

"Do you know," said Paul to me, "how Gen. Jackson gave a dinner party at the end of his presidential career?"

We confessed our ignorance.

"It was in this way," said Paul; "after his return from Washington the citizens generally flocked around him, and he called some of his intimate associates together, and expressed a wish to entertain as many of his friends as could be assembled upon any one occasion. The arrangements for the music and speeches were discussed—the capacity of the rooms, etc., when one gentleman inquired, 'how shall we send the invitations?'

"'The invitations!' exclaimed the General, 'publish them in the papers, sir! publish them in the papers!! Do you suppose I am going to have an adjourned meeting of my kitchen-cabinet out here in Tennessee? No, gentlemen, I'll invite every man, woman and child, that ever had a kind thought for Andrew Jackson. I'll give a party out there in the woods; you won't find a greener nor softer carpet than the grass, nor a more splendid roof than the oak branches, and for refreshments we will have a drove of sheep and oxen, sir—a real old-fashioned barbacue that shall make the forest ring again'—'and so he did. The announcement was made in the public prints,' 'that on such a day (the date has escaped me now) Andrew Jackson would be glad to see all his old friends at the Hermitage;' 'and the multitude poured in from all the cross-roads on horseback, and poured out from the city in carriages, until the crowd was like an army. It was a great party. I don't think any other man in the country ever gave one in that way, and you need not be surprised that the General was popular at home.

"As we turned off from the turnpike and entered a country road that was little more than a lane, we saw the mansion to which the worn-out soldier and statesman had retired to spend the quiet evening of what had been to him the stormy days of a life-time. And here I come to the point I intended to explain, viz.: the situation of the General's residence, and the reason why it was placed there. 'You will observe," said Paul as we approached the gate, "that the Hermitage has a Doric colonade across its entire front, the columns and entablature reaching to the roof; but from this point, which is exactly in front of the building, it seems to be cut off, or rather, the lower half is hidden by a rising slope, which reaches a beautiful elevation two hundred yards from the entrance to the grounds."

"Yes," said I, "and I wonder why it was, that with so perfect a natural site, an eminence that gently inclines in all directions, and so necessary for the display of Grecian architecture, the house should have been built on the side of the hill away from the road, thus cutting off all prospect of seeing or of being seen from the lower windows?"

"Now I happen to know all about that," said Paul. "I was on the spot when the foundations were being laid, and remonstrated with the General upon his unfortunate choice of situations, and pointed out the natural beauty of the one we have just noticed."

"'Yes! yes! I know all about that,' said the General, 'but Mrs. Jackson thinks that the top of the hill would be too far from the spring, and so she wants the house down here, and by the Eternal! here it shall be!!!'"

Most of our readers need not be told that Southern houses were once built with more regard to the convenience of water than to any other consideration.

We were received most hospitably by Mrs. Jackson, and dined with her in the large state dining-room, where the General did often entertain his friends with something less than a drove of oxen, and where it was decided at a meeting of the politicians, that Jas. K. Polk should run against Henry Clay in the great presidential canvas of '44. After dinner, we visited a lower corner of the garden, where a small dome, supported by six Ionic columns, cut from the marble of his native State, covers the dust of the brave old man and his wife.

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Sold by all dealers in Medicines.

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READ WHO SAYS SO.

* * * * * * * * *

[From the Rev. W. D. Seigfried, Pastor of Twelfth Baptist Church, Phil.]

GENTLEMEN: I have recently been laboring under the distressing effects of indigestion, accompanied by a prostration of the nervous system. Numerous remedies were recommended by friends, and some of them tested, but without relief. Your Hoofland's German Bitters were recommended by persons who had tried them, and whose favorable mention of these Bitters induced me to try them. I must confess that I had an aversion to Patent Medicines from the "thousand and one" quack "Bitters," whose only aim seems to be to palm off sweetened and drugged liquor upon the community in a sly way, and the tendency of which, I fear, is to make many a confirmed drunkard. Upon learning that yours was really a medicinal preparation, I took it, with happy effect. Its action, not only upon the stomach, but upon the nervous system, was prompt and gratifying. I feel that I have derived great and permanent benefit from the use of a few bottles.

Very respectfully yours,
W. D. SEIGFRIED, No. 254 Shackamaxon st.

A

[From the Rev. E. D. Fendall, Assistant Editor *Christian Chronicle*, Phil.]

I have derived decided benefit from the use of Hoofland's German Bitters, and feel it my privilege to recommend them as a most valuable tonic, to all who are suffering from general debility or from diseases arising from derangement of the liver.

Yours truly, E. D. FENDALL.

[From Rev. D. Merrige, Pastor of the Passyunk Baptist Church, Phil.]

From the many respectable recommendations given to Dr. Hoofland's German Bitters, I was induced to give them a trial After using several bottles I found them to be a good remedy for debility, and a most excellent tonic for the stomach.

D. MERRIGE.

From Rev. Wm. Smith, formerly Pastor of the Vincentown and Millville (N. J.) Baptist Churches.]

Having used in my family a number of bottles of your Hoofland's German Bitters, I have to say that I regard them as an excellent medicine, specially adapted to remove the diseases they are recommended for. They strengthen and invigorate the system when debilitated, and are useful in disorders of the liver, loss of appetite, etc. I have also recommended them to several of my friends, who have tried them, and found them greatly beneficial in the restoration of health.

Yours truly, WILLIAM SMITH,
966 Hutchinson street, Phil.

N

[From the Rev. Joseph H. Kennard, Pastor of the Tenth Baptist Church.]

I have been frequently requested to connect my name with commendations of different kinds of medicines, but regarding the practice as out of my appropriate sphere, I have in all cases declined; but with a clear proof in various instances, and particularly in my own family, of the usefulness of Dr. Hoofland's German Bitters, I depart for once from my usual course, to express my full conviction that, *for general debility of the system, and especially for Liver Complaint, it is a safe and valuable preparation.* In some cases it may fail; but usually, I doubt not, it will be very beneficial to those who suffer from the above causes.

Yours, very respectfully,
J. H. KENNARD, Eighth, below Coates st.
Philadelphia, Dec. 24, 1864.

Rev. J. S. Herman, of the German Reformed Church, Kutztown, Berks county, Pa., was cured of Dyspepsia of twenty years' standing.

A. M. Spangler, Editor of the *Culturist*, No. 25 North Sixth st., Philadelphia, says this Bitters was recommended to him by a medical friend, and six bottles cured him of complete prostration of the nervous system.

Rev. J. Newton Brown, D.D., Editor of the Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge and *Christian Chronicle*, Phil.;
Rev. Thos. Winter, D.D., Pastor of Roxborough Baptist Church;
Rev. Levi G. Beck, Pastor of the Baptist Church, Pemberton, N. J., formerly of the North Baptist Church, Phil., at present Pastor of the Baptist Church, Chester, Pa.

These gentlemen express, in the strongest terms, their favorable opinion of these Bitters.

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